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TOWARDS A THEORY OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PEDAGOGY OF PAULO FREIRE

by

VIDYA THAKUR

(C)

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.....
Supervisor

.....

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Date 30th July 1985

I Had A Dream.....
Martin Luther King

I May Not Sleep To Dream But
I Dream To Change The World.
Martin Carter

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late father, my mother and my wife Dianne, who taught the true meaning of life

and

My daughter Natasha Urmilla, the aspirations of a future generation.

ABSTRACT

During the development decade of the 1960's, many educators and political leaders began to regard education as an important mechanism for the development of the Third World. But by the early 1970's, many realised that the expansion in the educational system did not bring about any significant changes in the material conditions of the lives of the majority of the people in the these countries. The result was that radical educators began a systematic attack on the educational system. They began to contend that the educational system only serves the needs of the ruling class.

This thesis explores the philosophy of one such radical educator, Dr. Paulo Freire, who not only criticises the educational system as an oppressive institution of the Third World, but proposes certain solutions to the problems faced by it.

It examines the proposal for change advocated by Freire, who sees the existing educational system and process as a mechanism for liberating the people and societies of the Third World. It also argues that to understand Freire's theory and educational efforts in Brazil, an understanding of the historical evolution of that society is imperative. Like any societal analysis this must be grounded within a historical framework.

In the concluding chapter an attempt is made to argue that, contrary to Freire's position, education, even the

radical version which he proposed, cannot by itself be used as an engine for social change. The application and success of Freire's theories will first depend upon certain necessary political changes. Once such political changes have occurred, education could effectively become an integral part in the overall political-economic strategies in the pursuit of development.

Freire's theory cannot be completely discarded, but it needs modification or reorganization to fit different social, political and historical context.

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the major questions in the Third World since World War II has been "how can education contribute directly to development?" Many attempts have been made to construct the education system in such a way that it can make substantial contribution to the development of society. Hence, various approaches, such as changes in curriculum content and the introduction of community, practical and vocational education, have been undertaken. However, such attempts at curriculum reform have remained the major thrust in this area. Others have tried different approaches outside the formal education system through the development of non-formal education programs such as the teaching of literacy itself as an aid to the process of development.

However, one argument which gained universal prominence, especially since the 1960's, was that put forward by Theodore Shultz who in 1960 developed the human capital theory. This theory argued that qualitative improvements in human capital which can largely be brought about by education has an even more important role to play in the process of development. It would increase productivity and in so doing would generate greater wealth for reinvestment. This would lead to the creation of new jobs and generally better economic opportunities for everyone in society. This theory, therefore, argues that increased investment in education is a major step forward towards increased economic growth.[1]

It is important to point out that the human capital theory has been used to demonstrate the validity of various approaches. Among these are the rate of return analyses on investment in education, the inter country comparisons approach and the forecasting manpower-needs approach.[2]

The assumption in these various methodologies indicates an overemphasis and preoccupation with the link between education and the overall increases in the Gross National Product and invariably they suggest that higher levels of education necessarily mean higher levels of economic growth.

The result was that, during the 1960's, there was a substantial infusion of capital into education with emphasis on secondary and higher education but the result was that this massive expansion in education did not always lead to development. As M. K. Bacchus noted:

> educated manpower was produced faster than the economies were able to absorb it in jobs and at rates of pay which the graduates have traditionally expected...[3]
> By the 1970's the combined unemployment and underemployment were estimated at 29% for all developing countries and 38% for the developing countries of Africa alone...[4]

In assessing the outcome of the system of education, many critics began to indicate that its expansion led to a cooptation of certain elements of the population into an elite class, and the socialisation of the masses into certain norms and values which would teach them to accept their position in society as inevitable.

Among the first of such critics was Ivan Illich who directed his criticism at the inappropriateness and irrelevance of the kind of education that was being offered. Schools, he argued, were not attempting to create an egalitarian and democratic society, but rather served to maintain a hierarchical and authoritarian structure. Further, Illich explains that in schools, students

> learn the value of grade advancement, passive submission, and even the standard misbehavior that the teacher likes to interpret as a sign of creativity. They learned disciplined competition for the favor of the bureaucrat who presides over their daily sessions, who is called their teacher as long as they are in class and their boss when they go to work... They learn to accept their places in society precisely in the class and career corresponding at the level at which they leave school and to the field of their academic specialization.[5]

Another critic of similar philosophical persuasion was Everett Reimer who in his book, *School is Dead: Alternatives in Education*, argues that schools have outlived their usefulness. He suggests that schools basically perform four functions. First, they serve as baby-sitters or as custodial institutions, thus prolonging the stages of childhood. Secondly, they place students in various categories, according to their social and economic status. Thirdly, schools indoctrinate the students to accept the existing social structure and their own positions within it, and finally, schools teach cognitive skills and transmit knowledge. Cognitive learning, however, occurs when other built in functions are performed.[6]

Others like Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis and Martin Carnoy, contend that schooling reproduces the capitalist relations of production. The educational system according to Bowles and Gintis, is primarily a supplier of educated, though aberrated, manpower and the organisation of the educational system is structured in such a way as to fit the needs of industry.

> The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the work place, but develops the type of demeanor, modes of self presentation, self-image, and social class identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy.[7]

The social relations of production are reflected in the social relations of the school system, thus providing an advanced socialisation of potential workers into the type of compliance already in existence in the labour market.

Bowles and Gintis argue that the educational system and the hierarchical social structure are further given legitimacy by the ideology of" I. Qism." For example, Arthur Jensen, in 1969, attributes educational achievement to the inheritability of I.Q. and claims that certain social and racial groups are intellectually inferior to others. According to this theory, those in higher economic classes have higher I.Q.'s and therefore will continue to be economically advantaged. This theory, critics contend, is unable to explain the historical pattern of both educational and economic inequalities. They further suggest that contrary to the arguments of individuals like Jensen,

achievement and attainment do not necessarily correspond with I.Q. and that occupational attainment is a reflection of social class and not educational qualifications.[8] Therefore, existing inequalities in society are not rooted in individual differences, but rather in the nature of the production process and property relations.

In sum, the capitalist system distorts human nature and functions to alienate people from their true consciousness. The educational system functions to maintain the form of consciousness required by the elite classes to maintain control over the relations of production.

Similarly, Martin Carnoy argues that the educational system which emerged in Third World nations is a direct outgrowth of capitalist expansion, which sought to make colonial peoples subservient to their colonial masters. The human condition in the peripheral countries, he suggests, was "the result of social, political and economic relationships prevalent in the international capitalist system."[9] In order to show this, he used the examples of Peru, India, Brazil, West Africa and that of the blacks in the United States. In the case of India and West Africa, he says that "educational policy was made by European countries in the interest of European capitalists, traders and missionaries."[10]

Carnoy indicates that there has always been an unequal relationship between the metropolitan and peripheral countries, marked by intense exploitation. The exploitation

is further exacerbated by the development of a local bourgeoisie, who have become the comprador elites of the dominant metropolitan class. The emergence of this local elite and their success in maintaining a hierarchical social structure depends upon the ability of the colonisers to hire and coopt local leaders. Since they are primarily foreign creations, their interests, for the most part, are closely tied to that of the metropolitan ruling class. In referring to Fannon, Carnoy stated that even "the transference of power from the colonialists to the national bourgeoisie maintains colonial institutions and often increases the power of the ex-colonial country."[11]

The education system which emerged out of colonialism has a direct relationship to this expansion of capitalism. It reinforces the capitalist mode of production and therefore performs a domesticating function. The school teaches students to accept their roles in society and therefore "Schooling as a colonial institution attempts to make children fit certain moulds, to shape them to perform predetermined roles and tasks based on their social class."[12] Hence, schools perform the function of placing people within their productive roles and promoting a docile citizenry.

These authors, discussed above, have developed different themes to education which run counter to the human capital theory propounded by Shultz. Similarly, Dr. Paulo Freire, a Brazilian born educator, saw that education was

being used as a mechanism for elite domination. However, he argued that it can also perform an entirely different function - that of liberation; that education can be used to help man transform himself from the present oppressed position. Freire further suggests that by teaching literacy properly, the masses will become better able to understand their plight and as a result work towards transforming themselves to a higher plane.

It must also be mentioned that Freire has been actively involved (with some success) in the implementation of the solutions he advocated. He has also tried, with some success, to set his problems and solutions in an appropriate socio-historical context and has workded in such widely diverse situations as Brazil, Chile and Guinea-Bissau.

The purpose of this study, then, is to first examine, both the internal and external problems of the Third World as posed by Paulo Freire and the role education has played in maintaining the oppressive social order. Second, the study will attempt an examination of the solutions advocated by Freire, as a means of liberating the Third World, and the role which he saw education playing in this process. Finally, a critical examination of Freire's approach shall be undertaken.

The study will be divided into five chapters. The first chapter will introduce the various issues to be examined. The second will begin with a discussion of the historical evolution of Brazil, where Freire originally formulated his

theories, and will focus primarily on the contemporary social formation of the Northeast. The importance of this section lies in the fact that the political events of the Northeast, specifically after 1956, have a direct relationship to the success of Freire's work, which was originally tried out in that region. Furthermore, it would appear that the situation there had a strong impact on the political outlook and the development of his ideas.

The third chapter will begin with a discussion of the ways in which the oppressive apparatus in the Third World is maintained by the elites and their metropolitan allies, and the part which the 'banking' type of education, as Freire calls it, plays in this process.

In Chapter Four, the issue of education for liberation will be discussed with the focus on Freire's methodology as it was applied in Brazil. Also, particular attention would be paid to the role of revolutionary leaders in the transformation of these societies; for Freire, the success of the revolution depends largely upon the commitment of revolutionary leaders.

The fifth chapter will attempt a critical examination of the theories postulated by Freire, and will also focus on some very important ommissions in Freire's works. The critical examination undertaken in this chapter is not meant to be simply an attack on Freire, but rather, one which may complement his works.

Finally, the study will conclude with a summary of the discussion outlined above.

Notes

1. Theodore Shultz, "Investment in Human Capital" in Gerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.) Power and Ideology in Education, New York; Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 318.

2. For a more detailed discussion on these approaches see M. Blaug, An Introduction to the Economics of Education, Allen Lane; Penguin Books, 1972, and F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth, McGraw Hill, 1964.

3. M. K. Bacchus, "Education for Development in Underdeveloped Countries" in Comparative Education, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1981, p. 216.

4. M. Todaro cited in Ibid, p. 217.

5. Ivan Illich, Tools for Conviviality, New York; Harper & Row Publishers, 1973, p. 62.

6. Everett Reimer, School is Dead: Alternatives in Education, Middlesex; Penguin Books, 1975, pp. 23-32.

7. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, New York; Basic Books, Inc.,1976, p. 131.

8. Ibid, pp. 112-113.

9. Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, New York; David McKay Co. Inc., 1974, p. 55.

10. Ibid, pp. 80-81.

11. Ibid, p. 63.

12. Ibid, p. 18.

2. FREIRE IN PERSPECTIVE: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Let those who labor hold the reins
Bernard Coard

In order to explain the basis of Paulo Freire's philosophy, it is necessary to outline his background and experiences, for it is through his life and work that his philosophy emerged. Even his praxis evolved out of the socio-economicand political conditions of Northeast Brazil and an understanding of the context in which he began his work will shed some light, at least in part, on the development and success on his literacy programs.

2.1 FREIRE: EARLY YEARS

Freire was born in 1921 in the city of Recife, located on the Northeast coast of Brazil. His parents were of lower middle class background - his father being a police officer - and his mother a devout Catholic. Freire grew at a time of the great depression, which resulted in his family loosing the little wealth it had. As a consequence he suffered both hunger and malnutrition, causing him to fall a year behind in school.[1] Freire's problems were further complicated by the fact that his father died while he was still very young and he had to be brought up by his mother alone.

Upon graduation from high school, he studied philosophy and psycho-linguistics, and at the same time taught Portugese in a high school in order to help out financially.

at home. After his marriage in 1944 to Eliza, a school teacher, he began to acquire a greater interest in educational problems, but nevertheless, he went on to study law and philosophy. Freire's career as a practising lawyer was shortlived for it was not long before he realized that his legal studies had little to offer the poor, since most of them lived in debt and could not pay for the services of a lawyer. He later explained that he left "because I recognise I did not have the effectiveness being a lawyer, I did not feel well".[2]

Therefore, after one year he abandoned the practice of law and together with his wife began working with an organisation known as' Catholic Action'. Again, after six months with this organisation he left, explaining that the meetings of Catholic Action "was too Spiritualist, it was too much in the air, it lacked concreteness".[3] However, he continued his educational work among the peasants and workers.

For the next few years Freire and his wife lived and worked among the poor, an experience which later provided him with a framework for his doctoral dissertation which he submitted to the University of Recife in 1959. Shortly after receiving his doctoral degree, Freire was given a professorhsip at the University of Recife, in the History and Philosophy of Education.

Before proceeding to analyse the work and success of Freire educational programs, it is necessary to discuss the

socio-economic and political climate of the region because the political events of Northeast Brazil have a direct relationship with his work. Further, it is only through this type of understanding that we may be able to place the educational activities of Freire within a proper historical context.

2.2 BRAZIL: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Brazil was first 'discovered' in 1500 by the Portugese sailor Pedro Alvares Cabral and remained under Portugese domination until 1822. Initially, the Portugese merchants were only interested in extracting raw materials from Brazil. However, as sugar was gaining prominence in the European market, the Portugese Monarchy began distributing large land holdings to its nobles for sugar cane cultivation and for approximately the next two centuries the production of sugar was the primary economic activity in Brazil. Strangely enough, perhaps sugar was the only commodity to have brought three conflicting institutions together: feudal land tenure, slave labour, and capitalist investment and trading practices. The production of sugar, which was concentrated in Northeast Brazil, was produced for an international market and as an export-oriented cash crop, which was in high demand as it provided elites with the income to purhase luxury and manufactured goods from abroad.[4] However, by the early 1700's, when the prices of

sugar were declining, gold and diamond were discovered in central Brazil. As labour and captial were then directed towards mining, profits from sugar sank lower. Immediate and large profits were made from mining, but the age of gold went as quickly as it came.

By the mid-1700's southern Brazil was gaining prominence, beginning with the cattle industry. This industry was given further impetus by the development of a dynamic internal market for both beef and hides, due to the large influx of European immigrants into the region. Later, in the nineteenth century, this was superceded by the growth of large coffee plantations and industrial production. The latter was further boosted by large amounts of foreign investments, particularly from Britain and the United States.

2.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION OF NORTHEAST BRAZIL

Despite nearly five centuries of foreign investment and domination, Brazil has remained underdeveloped and human misery persisted, particularly more so in the Northeast. This region of the country covered some six thousand square kilometers with a population of approximately thirty-five million people. Today life expectancy in this region is twenty-eight years for men and thirty-two for women.[5] Northeast Brazil still remains an area of dramatic opposites; corinthian wealth and suffocating poverty with

16% of the agricultural establishments occupying some 89% of the viable land.[6] The region is characterised by three distinctive geo-climatic zones: the mata, the agreste, and the sertao, with each of these posessing an independent political culture determined by the economy of the region.

The most destitute of the cadre of the Northeastern peasantry is comprised of the substantial numbers who were formerly enslaved in the mata sugar region. The majority of these peasants own little or no land and were thus compelled to enter into servile relationships with the sugar barons. Because independent land ownership was virtually an unknown phenomenon for these peasants, their very existence was dependent upon the maintenance of their tenuous relationship with the land owner. Should a peasant be dismissed from employment, or should the international price for sugar rise substantially, enticing the land owner into seeding more land, the peasant-tenant would be ruthlessly evicted. Existing in a system where the concept of social welfare was considered an absurdity, eviction from the land was tantamount to a death sentence. The plight of the coastal peasantry would later provide the genesis and impetus for the Peasant Leagues.

The agreste is not only a graduated geo-climatic region but also an area of political-economic metamorphasis. The majority of the land (87.2%) is owned by small landholders in plots of 100 hectares or less and they had tended to develop a relative conservatism. While they possessed the

independent resources to negotiate with the landed gentry, nevertheless social change was viewed by them as an incremental task best facilitated through negotiation, legal action and political education. It was a time-consuming approach, albeit one in keeping with their socio-economic condition and political perspective.

The sertao is the largest geographic zone in the region. While constituting 70% of the regional land mass, the sertao supports a minimal 15% of the population. Once again, the unequal distribution of land dictated the socio-economic conditions of the region. Over 70% of the arable land is concentrated in 8% of the landholdings and here too the latifundia-minifundia relationship represents the predominant one.[7] In the area, however, there existed a fundamental difference between the agrarian pattern of the sertao and that of the mata-a direct result of the different modes of production in the two regions. While the economy of the coastal regions depended singularly upon the fluctuations of the international market, the economy of the backlands (sertao) was based upon the long-term stable industries of ranching and cotton production. The majority of the peasants of the backlands have either sharecropped, rented or independently farmed their small plots of land. But due to the relative stability of their situation they have developed into a rural element prepared to maintain their farms, work for the estates, raise extra money and preserve the status-quo. Being sheltered from immediate

expropriation, as dictated by the fluctuations of the international sugar economy, the peasants of the sertao are less inclined towards extreme social agitation than those of the mata region.

The system imposed by the planter class coupled with natural hazards of drought and famine are very important factors in understanding the nature of social agitation in the Brazilian Northeast. The sporadic rebellions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were indeed no historical accidents, but significant expressions of the exploitative relations which characterised Brazilian history. Lacking political direction, these outbursts, though aimless, sought in some way to allieviate the misery in the Northeast.

To understand the political context in which Freire educational programs took place, it is necessary to describe, very briefly, Brazil's modern political history. Politically, Brazil has always been ruled by an oligarchy. During the first republic, 1889-1930, it was ruled by oligarchies from the centre-south triangle: Sao Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro, often making pre-election political deals and engaging in electoral malpractices. During the 1930 elections, however, a group of young nationalist army officers intervened in the process and placed the losing candidate, Getulio Vargas, in power. Apart from the years, 1946-1950 and 1951-1954, when Vargas returned to power and attempted to pursue a moderate

political route, Brazil was ruled by one authoritarian figure, Getulio Vargas. However, in the 1956 elections, the constitutionalist Juscelino Kubitschek won the presidency and this was the first time that the country was placed on the road to liberal democracy. The succeeding presidents, Janio Quadros (7 months) and Joao Goulart (1961-1964) sought "to circumvent traditional political processes and dispense with compromises and deals previous presidents had seen as part of the job."[8]

One of the immediate effects of the democratic upsurge following the election of Juscelino Kubitschek and Joao Goulart as President and Vice-President of the Republic, was the flowering of the Peasant League movement. Some authors have suggested that the emergence of these associations represented a resurgence of the interest of the post 1945 Communist Organisations of the same name. This, however, is a misleading notion, which serves to propagate an inaccurate interpretation of the Peasant League phenomenon. In fact, the post 1956 Leagues resulted from Joao Firmino's humble request for individualised coffins. At the outset the movement had very little or no ideological coloring. In the post World War II economic upswing many commodities for which there was little demand throughout the conflict began to be sought after on the international market. Sugar was a prime example. As the price of sugar rose, the Northeast's landholders began to reconsider their earlier decision to lease much of their land to the peasant farmers. The sugar

barons therefore began to use every political and coercive measure to oust the peasants from the land in order to provide more area for sugar cane production. This was the situation on the Galileia plantation, located on the edge of the mata zone where the owner, Beltrao, was attempting to evict the peasants in order to open up more lands for cultivation. In response, the various peasant leaders approached the state deputy, Francisco Juliao, and asked him to aid in ameliorating their plight. Juliao had long been an ardent sympatheizer of the peasant collectives in their unpretentious struggles for improved living conditions and as a direct result of Juliao's resources, his legal training, friends and political contacts, he succeeded in having the state assembly expropriate Beltrao's property and turn it into a series of small peasant-leased farms. It was a staggering success. Joseph Page places the Beltrao negotiations in proper perspective when he suggested that:

> Juliao's first attempt at carrying on a specific agrarian reform project could hardly be considered radical...however, Juliao knew what he was doing. For Peasant League members the expropriation had political value. It was for the first time that peasants had forced the government to do something. It presaged greater things to come.[9]

This initial success had two immediate results. First, it succeeded in inculcating the peasantry with the beginnings of revolutionary fervor. A nascent realisation was developing among these individuals that, perhaps the monolith of semi-feudal exploitation was beginning to show

signs of strain. The second corollary was the rapid enhancement of Francisco Juliao's reputation as the defender of the peasantry. The phoenix of Don Sebastion appeared to be rising once more. Accordingly, the peasants began to rally behind the banner of Juliao. Despite his bourgeois background,[10] his ambition was to develop a new Brazilian polity modelled upon the Cuban system. The combination of economic dislocation, the election of a slightly more progressive central government, the appearance of a leader possessing sufficient political resources, personal attraction and humanitarian empathy for the exploited masses, gave the Peasant League movement a strong base for political agitation. Juliao's political support grew rapidly among the peasantry of the mata zone and it was here the impetus for agrarian reform - and eventually more broadly based social reform - originated. Juliao's socialist, popular oriented ideology was well received among the lower echelons of the Brazilian economic system. However, it was decided to concentrate this genre of political organisation among specific areas of the exploited classes and therefore his Peasant League movement did not expand into the salaried workers of the sugar economy, the ruralised peasants of the sertao or the cities. It was this important decision which fundamentally undermnined the success of Juliao Peasant League.

As his movement gained momentum and grew in popular strength, Juliao staged a number of impressive peasant

demonstrations in many of the major cities of the Northeast. However, as the Leagues gained credibility and their demands appeared more attainable, the landholders and the rural gentry began to fear the loss of their systematic control. Accordingly, the Peasant Leagues faced staunch, violent repressive counter attacks to their demonstrations. In response, Juliao teachings became more politicised and he thus became the champion of radical reform measures. On one particular occasion, he said:

> If I have the idea to burn rural land, I guarantee that there would not be one remaining cane field in Pernambuco. I am able to eliminate in twenty-four hours.[11]

Many progressive elements of Brazilian society viewed the incremental escalation of Juliao's passionate rhetoric with increasing alarm lest the inevitable conflict obviate any social change whatsoever. Accordingly, the Catholic church under the dual leadership of Fathers Crespo and Melo, began to organise parallel organisations among the peasants of the agreste and sertao zones. As indicated earlier, these peasants who maintained a certain albeit tenuous domain over the land were thus inclined towards more conservative overtures on agrarian reform.

In stark opposition, however, the Communist Party seized the momentum generated by the Peasant Leagues and introduced their interpretation of social reform into the cities and among salaried workers in the mata zone. The hope of establishing a popular front was shattered as the peasant

agitations were splintered among often competing factions:

> A number of groups were active in promoting peasant organizations: the Catholic Church, the followers of Francisco Juliao, members of the Chinese and Russian oriented Communist Parties, a few Trotskyites and representatives of the state government of Miguel Arraes and the national goverment of Joao Goulart.[12]

Even though, this melange of peasant associations shared two fundamental aims: (a) to improve the socio-economic conditions of the Northeast peasants; (b) to accomplish this through the development of political consciousness, radically different methods for acheiving these ends were advanced. The Trotskyists suggested the establishment of popular tribunals designed to try "...those associated with capitalism and the latifundio..."[13] Juliao sought to achieve these ends by organising the sharecroppers, tenants and small farmers of the mata zone into legitimate political associations buttressed by force of arms if necessary. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, lobbied for change "...the establishment of cooperatives, responsible negotiations with landowners, and period of intensive training of peasant leaders..."[14] Whereas the Communist Party:

> ...attempted to play a dual role: on one hand it founded its own associations that remained totally under its control, and, on the other, infiltrated elements into the workers of the Leagues, hoping to bring them under their guidance.[15]

Accordingly, this peasant mass movement degenerated into a system of many alliances as each competing faction

jockeyed for position against the other. Knowledge and resources were rarely pooled; demonstrations were uncoordinated and in some cases held at conflicting times; leadership rivalries regressed into intense personal competitions; social gains became fragmented into sectarian triumphs as the rapidly failing central government sought to coalese the various factions. By late 1963, the regional umbrella, the Confederation of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG) had been formed in the hope of coordinating and concentrating the movements' activities. In the concomitant leadership struggle, the Catholic Church and Francisco Juliao lost considerable support to the Communist Party. The physical and monetary resources of CONTAG became directed towards ameliorating the plight of the urban labour force, and as such, agrarian reform became secondary. As the Church leadership dissolved into disputes and Juliao drifted away from the Peasant Leagues,[16] Goulart's control over the direction of the peasant movement became more absolute. Following a successful general strike (organised under the auspices of CONTAG) on behalf of salaried workers of the mata zone which paralyzed 85% of the sugar industry in the Northeast, a wide ranging social reform protocol was signed by the sugar producers. It is interesting to note that although this strike was essentially organised, financed and implemented by organs of an association of agricultural workers, almost all the benefits accrued to the more urban-oriented salaried workers. One author commented upon

this travesty by suggesting that:

> The salaried workers of the mata had thus received before 1964 important benefits from participation in the Pernambucan peasant movement. It should be stressed, however, that sharecroppers, renters, moradores, and small farmers were not so fortunate. Their problems were different from those of the salaried workers and could be settled by strike. They needed credit, cooperatives, and security of land tenure - none of which were provided.[17]

Therefore, it appears painfully obvious that the Peasant Leagues, which were originally established in the hope of providing some measure of agrarian reform - and which were carried forward upon the crest of a wave of popular opinion anxious to see the establishment of just ends - were completely co-opted and failed to achieve their goal. Although the peasant movement lent immeasurable help to the plight of the urban proleteriat, the Leagues were unable to fulfil their popular mandate of encouraging agrarian land re-distribution. As such the Peasant League could not be deemed successful.

Despite the problems which the peasants experienced with their movements and the various competing interests that developed, they received formal support of the establishment of their organizations from a number of industrialists in southern Brazil. The reasons for this were two-fold. First, they argued that with a more equitable distribution of wealth, the Northeast would enhance the market possibilities for commodities coming from the industrial belt in southern Brazil. Second, the agrarian

structure in the Northeast prevented the successful penetration of capitalism into the region. [18]

As has been suggested previously, these movements received much support from the government. The national government of Joao Goulart "gave 10 million cruzeiros to any federation that was ready to work with the Labour Ministry."[19] Consequently, between 1963 and 1964, two thousand new peasant unions were established.

2.4 FREIRE CONFRONTS THE SYSTEM

It was against this background of radicalism that Freire began his literacy programs. Although he was not directly involved in any of the peasant movements, it indeed set the pace for his work. Shortly after receiving his doctoral degree, he became involved with the Popular Culture Movement, which sought to make people aware of their position in society:

> Popular Culture assumes the character of a struggle. Apart from forming an authentic national culture, this struggle promotes the integration of the Brazilian man in the socio-economic and politico-cultural liberation of our people.[20]

Shortly after he left the Popular Culture Movement and organised the Cultural Extension Service at the University of Recife. Freire did not leave the Popular Culture Movement because of the growing influence of the Communist Party, as some authors claimed.[21] Freire later explained that this was

totally false. The reason he left to organise the Cultural Extension Service was because he wanted to extend the literacy program.[22] The program he initiated was similar to that of Popular Culture and it so impressed Miguel Arraes, the socialist Mayor of Recife and later Governor of the State of Pernambuco, that he sponsored an adult literacy program for the city and appointed Freire as its coordinator. Freire's approach did not involve the use of schools. Instead he launched his famous culture circles in which literacy and conscientization went together. Discussions began with pictures representing man's immediate situation, his community, place of work, his employer, etc. Slowly the people became aware of their own surroundings, after which they began to think of the wider society. This progression in learning eventually made people aware that they are the makers of their own culture and history and hence could become actively involved in transforming the world in which they live.

So pronounced was Freire's success that in the following year, in 1963, the national government of Joao Goulart initiated a national literacy campaign with Freire as its director. Freire's influence was now extended to all of Brazil and he hoped that his program would be able to match the literacy campaign in 1961 in Cuba. It was that by 1964, two million people were directly taking part in Freire literacy programs, with "more than 20,000 culture circles functioning throughout the country,"[23] each circle

containing thirty students for a period of two months.

However, the right-wing sector of the Brazilian populace, viewed Freire's program with alarm and he was accused of attempting to 'Bolshevise the country'. Although the political climate was rather favourable, for his programs, he was unable to fully demonstrate their effectiveness because of the fact that they lasted less than a year. Freire's anti-illiteracy campaign was abruptly ended eight months after it began, when the military staged a coup and ousted the government of Joao Goulart.

While the reasons for the coup are many, it would appear, however, that the most important one was the attempt to democratise the country. Under the Brazilian constitution those who were unable to read and write could not exercise their franchise and the fear among the upper class was that if more people from the lower class were brought into the electoral process, they would create a swing in the balance of power in Brazilian politics. Hence, the exploiting classes had reasons to fear. For example, in the state of Sergipe, 90,000 voters were added to the existing voters list of 80,000 and they were by no means "blind and ignorant, but were able to understand the power structure in their area. The(y) claimed their due rights from the political leaders and started organizing themselves." [24]The military establishment which had always supported the oppressor classes also saw this phenomenon as constituting a major political threat to the established order in Brazil.

Therefore, immediately after the coup Freire was imprisoned on a charge of international subversion and once again the culture of silence was imposed upon the people of Brazil. With regards to his work and imprisonment, he later wrote:

> Because of this (his work) I was jailed. Of course if I had developed only a formal way of teaching I would still be in my country. But to the extent I challenged people to unveil the elites of power, they could not accept me and they were absolutely right from their point of view. They would have been naive not to have put me in jail. I had to be punished by them. I understand this very well, as I will punish them when I can.[25]

After seventy-five days in prison, Freire was released and went into exile in Bolivia. Unfortunately, after fifteen days the Bolivian army, under Rene Barrientos, staged a coup and again Freire had to leave. From there he fled to Chile where he lived and worked for the next five years.

As in Brazil, adult illiteracy in Chile was considered a very serious problem by the Christian Democratic Party of Eduardo Frei. Consequently, in mid-1965 the government of Chile created a Department of Special Planning for the Education for Adults and Freire was given the mandate to implement the program that was considered subversive in Brazil under the military regime. While in Chile, he wrote two very important works, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Education for Critical Consciousness*, dealing with problems of education and agrarian reform.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed, probably the more important of the two works, was first published in 1970 and originally written in Portugese. It was the result of his experiment with new methods of teaching adults how to read and write. Although the book was about adult literacy it went beyond the boundaries of decoding and encoding the written word. It focussed on making the poor become critically aware of their dispossessed situation so that they could act upon it and liberate themselves.

From the outset the thesis of the book was clear, the poor were dehumanised because they are the product of an unjust social order. The political, economic, social and cultural domination of the poor was so effective that they have come to internalise that domination. In fact, all aspects of their lives were superimposed upon them by the elites and they perceived their own reality through the created reality of the oppressor: "to be" was "to be like" and "to be like" was "to be like the oppressor".

The understanding of and liberation from this situation is based upon the concept "conscientisation." The word means an awakening of consciousness, that is, the development of critical awareness of a person's own identity and situation. To be critically aware is to be able to analyse the causes and consequences of one's own position in society and act reflectively to transform that situation.

His book, *Education for Critical Consciousness*, is divided in two parts, "Education as the Practice for

Freedom" and "Extension or Communication". In "Education as the Practice for Freedom", Freire presents his view that man, through critical reflection can transform history, and for him, education must be social and political in nature and there must be a constant attempt to change one's attitude and help him/her to attain a democratic outlook.

In this article, Freire outlines the methodology which he developed in Brazil. This involves the use of generative words and pictures indicating real life situations. For example, the use of the word "favela" (slum) together with a picture of a slum, would bring the attention of the learners to other problems such as housing, health, diet, clothing, etc.

In the other section of the book, "Extension or Communication", Freire sought to provide some educational alternatives, specifically with regards to the peasant population. He argues that extension educational programs continue to objectify the masses. Peasants, according to Freire, are conditioned by history and see themselves as objects. And as long as people are treated as objects, extension programs are doomed to fail. Therefore the agronomist educator, if he is to be effective, must approach the peasantry in a humble, caring and loving manner. His role, in this case, is to stress that it is the people themselves who are the agents for social change. He therefore need to engage in real dialogue with the peasantry and must be together 'with them' and not 'being for' or

'being over' them. Extension therefore must be communication.

In 1969, Freire accepted a position at Harvard University and returned briefly to Chile after the Marxist Salvador Allende was elected to power. It is important to note here that after the coup of 1973, the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, declared Freire a persona non grata. It was while he was teaching at Harvard University that Freire wrote two very important articles, "Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom" and "Cultural Action and Conscientization". Originally these two articles were published in the Harvard Educational Review and later appeared as a monograph as *Cultural Action for Freedom*.

In this work Freire reflects on his views on alienation, domination and oppression which typify the masses of the Third World and saw that these conditions imposed upon the masses a 'culture of silence'. Important to this work is Freire's categorical denial of the empirical positivist notion of education, i.e. that education is neutral, unitary and universally true. On the contrary, he sees education as emanating from a certain paradigmatic conceptual framework. To him, education and the resultant form of knowledge as is practised is only one conception of education. The educational practise which results from this form has become so entrenched that is is seen as if it is normal and natural knowledge. Anyone not having it is

considered marginal and pathological. The proper treatment is to introduce the learner to the kind of knowledge that would bring him to the fold.

While at Harvard, Freire also came in contact with other critics of traditional education such as Jonathan Kozol and Ivan Illich. During 1970, he participated in several seminars with Ivan Illich at the Centre for Intercultural Documentation at Cuernavaca, Mexico. Initially, Freire enjoyed close relationship with Ivan Illich, but it became lukewarm as their perspective diverged.

In 1970, Freire left Harvard to take up a position as consultant to the Office of Education to the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Since then he has advanced his educational ideas in many ways. He worked directly with governments of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Peru and more recently the Caribbean Island of Grenada, before it was invaded by the United States. He has also participated in many symposiums in different parts of the world.

In 1971, Freire created the Institute of Cultural Action in Geneva. With constant research and experimentation, the role of the Institute was "to establish a political pedagogy through conscientization." [26]Through this Institute, a series of documents were produced focusing primarily on the liberation of women.

In 1975, Freire led a World Council of Churches team to the independent country of Guinea-Bissau, where he became

directly involved in the establishment of adult educational programs. A report of his activities and a detailed account of how the letters came to be written was published in his latest book, *Pedagogy in Process: Letters from Guinea-Bissau*. What is important about Freire's work in Guinea-Bissau is that he did not attempt the Brazilian program in that country, but rather reformulated it to fit into the historical and socio-cultural context of a post colonial state in Africa.

In 1980, Freire returned to Brazil, after he was granted amnesty by the military government and shortly thereafter he was given a post at the University of Sao Paulo. Freire explains that amnesty was not granted to him because the military government wished him to return, but on the contrary, they had to listen to the cries of the people.[27] Although with a great deal of constraints, Freire continues his work among the masses in Brazil.

Notes

1. The hunger and poverty Freire suffered during this time would have a profound effect on his later life. At age eleven he made a solemn vow that he would "dedicate his life to the struggle against hunger, so that other children would not have to know the agony he was then experiencing".
   Richard Shaull, 'Introduction' to Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, (New York: The Seabury Press, 1973) p. 10.

2. Interview with Paulo Freire, July 21, 1984, Edmonton, Alberta.

3. Ibid.

4. Josue de Castro, Death in the Northeast, (New York: Vintge Books, 1969) pp. 90-91.

5. Cliff Barnard, "Imperialism, Underdevelopment and Education" in R. Mackie (ed), Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1981) pp. 18-19.

6. C. N. Hewitt, "Brazil: The Peasant Movements of Pernambuco, 1961-1964" in H. Landsberger (ed), Latin Americn Peasant Movements, (London: Cornell University Press, 1969) p. 374.

7. Ibid.

8. Barnard, op cit, p. 29.

9. Joseph Page, The Revolution That Never Was, (New York: Grossman Publishing Inc., 1972) p. 47.

10. In a rather polemical article, Anthony Leeds attempts to make the ase that Juliao was little more than a crass opportunist making use of the peasant forces for his own political ends.
    A. Leeds, "Brazil and the Myth of Fancisco Juliao" in

J. Maier and R. Weatherhead (eds), Politics of Change in Latin America, (New York: Praeger Publishers Inc., 1965) p. 190.

11. Hewitt, op cit, p. 393.

12. Ibid, p. 384.

13. Ibid, p. 385.

14. Ibid, p. 393.

15. Ibid, p. 390.

16. At this time Juliao was elected to the Federal Assembly of of Deputies and thus spent most of his time in the capital city of Brasilia at the expence of his authority in the Peasant Leagues.

17. Hewitt, op cit, p. 397.

18. Maria Mies, "Paulo Freire's Method: Conscientization in Latin America" in Economic and Political Weekly, 8:39, 1973, p. 1765.

19. Ibid.

20. Emanuel de Kadt, Catholic Radicals in Brazil, (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) p. 105.

21. Ibid, pp. 104-105.

22. Interview with Paulo Freire, July 21, 1984, Edmonton, Alberta.

23. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, (New York: The Seabury Press, 1973) p. 56.

24. Mies, op cit, p. 1766.

25. Cited in Barbara Bee "The Politics of Literacy" in R. Mackie (ed) Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1981) p. 46.

26. R. Mackie "Introduction" in Ibid, p. 7.

27. Interview with Paulo Freire, July 21, 1984, Edmonton, Alberta.

3. EDUCATION AND DEHUMANISATION

For Fréire, the process of education is a political act and it can be used as a mechanism for domination or liberation. Freire's concerns extended beyond education because he felt that the present phenomenon of the Third World cannot be understood in isolation from its relationship with the metropolitan powers.

This chapter, then, will attempt to first show the nature of the relationship between the Third World and the metropolitan powers. Second, an analysis will be attempted of how education is used by the dominant class to oppress the masses of people.

3.1 EXPLOITATION AND DEHUMANISATION OF THE THIRD WORLD

The educational writings of Paulo Freire reflect the situation of the oppressed and the dialectical relationship which exists between the oppressed and their oppressors. Founded in a literacy program for adults, Freire outlines a methodology, a pedagogy or an educational process whereby those who are immersed in a position of dominance can become aware of their conditions and can act to free themselves. In learning to read and write through critical reflection, adults can read through the world in which they live and hence create their own history. For Freire, this must be the goal of development, i.e. for the liberated individual can transform his own world.

The right to be liberated, according to Freire, is suppressed and this suppression is so complete that it results in a 'culture of silence' among the masses. This culture results from the structural relationship between the dominated and the dominator. In short, it is a culture with no voice:

> In the culture of silence the masses are 'mute', that is, they are prohibited from creatively taking part in the transformations of their society and are therefore prohibited from being. Even if they can occasionally read and write because they were 'taught' in humanitarian - but not humanist - literacy campaigns, they are nevertheless alienated from the power responsible for their silence.[1]

Lower class people of the Third World find themselves adapted to live in a world defined by their oppressors. Thus the poor remain powerless, dependent and fatalistic and they become the perfect object for manipulation by others. The individual who is the object of an oppressed society is seen as internalising the image of himself as expressed by the oppressor class. The contradiction of this situation lies in the fact that even though the oppressed are at the bottom of the socio-economic spectrum, they have become so conditioned and domesticated by their oppressed situation that the whole culture and value system is oriented entirely towards that of the oppressor. In other words, it seems that to be fully human is to become oppressors:

> Their (lower class) ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity...This phenomenon derives from the fact that the

> oppressed...adopt an attitude of "adhesion" to the oppressor...This does not mean that the oppressed are unaware that they are downtrodden. But their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion is the reality of oppression. At this level, their perception of themselves as opposites does not yet signify engagement in a struggle to overcome the contradiction; the one pole aspires not to liberation but to identification with its opposite pole.[2]

Like most critical thinkers, Freire attempts to formulate an analysis of underdeveloped societies in relation to the western metropolitan powers. Therefore, for him Third World societies "cannot be understood apart from the relationship of dependency."[3] He further pointed to the deliberate misunderstanding and misuse of the Third World by the metropolitan powers:

> The Third World as a whole, and more in some parts than others, suffers from the same misunderstandings from certain sectors of the so-called metropolitan societies. They see the third world as the incarnation of evil, the primitive, the devil, sin and sloth - in sum, as historically unviable without the director societies.[4]

Hence, Third World societies are seen as primitive and are in dire need for charity and modernisation. Yet, it is the hinterland for the exploitation of raw materials and cheap labour. Politically, most of these societies remain at the colonial or neo-colonial stage of development and even though while most of them have been granted political independence, they still continue to exist at the whims of the metropolitan countries.

The expansionist drive of the imperialist powers stifles national development, as there is a continuous drive to increase profits, and human development becomes secondary. These societies are so subjugated that any attempt at asserting their true aspirations of independence is met with serious reactions, both from within and without. This then assumes an unequal relationship which is indeed, antagonistic in nature:

> These societies (metropolitan powers) can never relate to the third world as equal partners, since partnership presupposes equals, no matter how different the equal parties may be, and can never be established between antagonistic to each other.[5]

Those who are subjected to economic, political and socio-cultural domination inevitably internalise that domination and become submissive members of the culture of silence, who meekly accept the values of the elites as their own. This is so strong that they are fearful of freedom. This is what Freire refers to as the process of dehumanisation. The elites by their own definition, are superior in knowledge and power and both the people and society become subjects to the elite class. The continuous intervention of the metropolitan powers in the internal affairs of the Third World are examples of the efforts to maintain their relationship with the elites of these countries. Within these societies themselves, the national elites, usually the landed aristocracy or the urban bourgeoisie, with the help of the security forces, serve the

metropolitan powers by exercising internal domination and exploitation of the people. In other words, the elites of the Third World are mere brokers for the metropolitan powers and as a result the masses suffer a dual exploitation - from the metropolitan powers and the local elites.

3.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF ANTI-DIALOGICAL ACTION

The process of dehumanisation is carried out by what Freire refers to as anti-dialogical action which he sees as having four characteristics - Conquest, Divide and Rule, Manipulation and Cultural Invasion.

3.2.1 CONQUEST

The very word 'conquest' implies a conqueror and a conquered. Very often a conquest is carried out by means of violence and once a people is conquered (in this case the people of the Third World), the conqueror imposes his objectives on them and makes them his possession. In this case the people in the Third World are reduced to things and only survive at the whims of the conquerors. This oppression not only takes the form of economic exploitation, but also cultural domination in which the colonised people are denied their own cultural expressions, such as language, religion, art, folklore, etc. Since, however, the conquerors are unable to completely destroy the conquered society "they must mythisize the world". Indeed these myths are not only created to preserve the status quo but also to promote a

specific ideological orientation. These created myths are, sometimes, more effective than violence, in controlling a society. Among them are:

> the myth that the oppressive society is a "free society", the myth that men are free to work where they wish, that if they don't like their bosses they can leave to look for another job, the myth that this order respects human rights and is therefore worthy of esteem; the myth that anyone who is industrious can become an entrepreneur as the owner of a large factory; the myth of the universal right of education, when all the Brazilian children who enter primary school only a tiny fraction enter university...the myth that rebellion is a sin against God; the myth of the private property as fundamental to human development.[6]

Another myth which is frequently perpetuated is that the world is a fixed entity and human beings are only spectators and must therefore adapt themselves to fit within that entity.

Further, the conquered people are made to feel that their conquerors are superior in nature and that they are not as 'developed' as their conquerors because they are inherently lazy. They therefore need to overcome their laziness. This certainly adds another dimension to racism on the part of the colonisers. To this point Albert Memi suggests that:

> By his accusation the coloniser establishes the colonised as being lazy. He decides that laziness is constitutional in the very nature of the colonised. It becomes obvious that the colonised, whatever he may undertake, whatever zeal he may apply, could ever be anything but lazy. This always brings us back to racism, which is the substansive expression, to the accuser's benefit, a real or imaginary trait of

the accused.[7]

In the process of social control the mass media is an essential instrument. Although Freire himself does not deal with the effects of the media at any great length, it is important to note that it is one of the most crucial mechanisms for cultural and ideological transmission. As one author so aptly states:

> The press is the social institution for the gathering, processing (including interpretation, misinterpretation), recording and dissemination of ideas, opinions, and information. The press is an integral part of the knowledge industry, and to the extent that knowledge is power the institution for the communication of such knowledge is an important tool of social control. It is axiomatic, then, that it is imperative for the powerful social classes in society to control the press so as to use it to communicate their class ideology. The press must be a class press performing the vital function of class dominance and rule. There are no exceptions to the rule, pretentions of certain naive press workers - the journalists - notwithstanding. In fact the idea of freedom of the press is an extreme expression of false consciousness that only goes to demonstrate the success of ruling class ideology in penetrating the minds of the classes they rule over.[8]

It must be borne in mind, however, that the nature of conquest will be different in various historical periods. What is important to understand, however, is that in each historical era there is an unlimited fascination of the oppressor class to subjugate others.

3.2.2 DIVIDE AND RULE

This concept of "divide and rule" is as old as the practise of repression itself. Because the conquerors who are in the minority need to maintain their hegemony, it is necessary to keep the oppressed from developing unity among themselves. Consequently, any attempt, on the part of the oppressed at recognising some form of repression is met with fierce resistance from the oppressors. To alienate and divide the people further problems are created amongst them and those that existed previously are deepened. One case in point here would be that of Guyana, where the British government used the racial differences in the country to divide the Guyanese populace. Another example includes India with the Hindus and Moslems.

While these divisions are actively created and deepened, local leaders are trained as a "buffer class" between the oppressed and the metropolitan oppressors. In some cases they are taken out of the local milieu and trained in the metropole and after graduation are sent home to maintain and reinforce the status quo.

The centuries of efforts by the colonial powers to train and teach the colonised to become "good subjects" have blossomed and are bearing fruits. As early as 1817, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, one of India's leading scholars of his time, trained in Britain, argued that Western education was the only way to shake India of its intellectual stagnation. His plan (which was later accepted) was that European scholars

should be employed as instructors in philosophy, social and other sciences, which the nations of Europe have mastered to the degree of perfection and placed them in other parts of the world to teach the native inhabitants. He further argued that the Sanskrit language would leave the Indian population in darkness.[9]

Colonial training was so effective that colonial subjects not only defended the coloniser in political and economic administration but also in the most atrocious acts against mankind. Dwarka Nath, in the opening paragraph of his book, *History of East Indians in Guyana*, stated:

> Britain's benevolence in granting freedom to the slaves in her colonial possessions will forever stand as one of the greatest acts of humanity ever done by any nation in the world. She did not through any pressure from outside, nor her inability to subdue the slaves; she did it of her own free will.[10]

It is obvious that Nath, being blinded by his colonial training, did not understand the economics of slavery, in that, slavery as an institution had ceased to be economically profitable, and the continuous rebellion in the plantations made both life and production uncertain for the plantocracy. These are but a few examples of effectiveness of the colonial trained "buffer class".

Another concept which is rejected by the oppressor is the existence of class conflict. Although this is an impossible task, the elites "preach the need for understanding and harmony between those who buy and those who are obliged to sell their labor."[11] The only class

harmony which exists, Freire argues, lies in the oppressor class itself:

> "The elites call for harmony between classes as if classes were fortuitous agglomerations of individuals curiously looking at a shop window on a Sunday morning. The only harmony which is viable and demonstrable is that found among the oppressor themselves."[12]

Conversely, unity can only exist in the oppressed class when they are engaging in struggle against their oppression.

Another manifestation of "divide and rule" is the preservation of the oppressor state. The state performs a dual function. First, it represents the hegemony of imperialism. Second, its political functions are essentially repressive in nature, outlawing trade unions and workers protest. In order to reduce the effectiveness of worker unity, Freire argues that the system favours:

> certain "representatives" of the dominated classes (who actually represent the oppressor...); its promotion of individuals who reveal leadership capacity and could signify a threat if they were "softened up" in this way; its distribution of benefits and penalties to others; all these are ways of dividing in order the system favors the elite."[13]

To further divide and alienate the people, the oppressors pose as builders of society. Those who attempt to oppose the repressive system are referred to as bandits, terrorists and conspirators. The people are made to feel that they are being defended against the enemies of God. Freire suggests that this is a false generosity and it is only an attempt to preserve the unjust social order. All it

is is an attempt to:

> "buy" peace for himself (oppressor). It happens that peace cannot be bought; peace is experienced in solidarity and loving acts, which cannot be incarnated in oppression.[14]

"Divide and rule", which aims at preserving the status quo is a fundamental objective of anit-dialogical action. It is a mechanism used by the dominant group to save themselves - their wealth, power and capacity to subjugate others. That is however, seen as a fundamental mistake on their part:

> men cannot save themselves (no matter how one understands "salvation"), either as individuals or as an oppressor class. Salvation can be achieved with others. To the extent, however, the elites oppress, they cannot be with the oppressed; for being against them is the essence of oppression.[15]

3.2.3 MANIPULATION

Like the concepts "Conquest" and "Divide and Rule", Manipulation is used as another tool for subjugating the masses. The lesser the political sophistication, the greater the chance of people being manipulated, by those who wished to maintain the status quo. People are manipulated by the creation of myths, but in a somewhat different way than that which was discussed earlier. In order for these myths to work effectively the people must first accept, in its fullest form, the bourgeois ideology.

This form of manipulation is accomplished by certain unwritten agreements between the masses and the bourgeoisie. The agreement attempts to portray a dialogue between the

upper classes and the masses. In reality, however, this is not so since the objectives of seemingly dialogue is primarily determined by the upper elites. Historically, the attempt at dialogue only comes about when the bourgeoisie finds itself threatened by the emergence of working class politics.

> The presence of the people in the historical process, no longer as mere spectators, but with the first signs of aggressivity, it's sufficiently disquieting to frighten the dominant elites into doubling the tactics of manipulation.[16]

In this historical stage of emerging political consciousness among the masses, manipulation becomes the most important instrument in the preservation of the elites. Prior to this emergence, there was no manipulation, the masses were totally suppressed. Manipulation, then, becomes the only concrete response to the historical process.

Accordingly, Freire argues, that this form of manipulation is much more prevalent in the urban-industrialised centres and because of the lack of revolutionary consciousness, take the form of deceits and false promises.

The antidote of manipulation is the formation of an authentic revolutionary organisation, which will pose a threat to the manipulative work of the elites. But, very often, as Freire argues,

> the left is always tempted by a "quick return to power", forgets the necessity of joining with the oppressed to forge an organisation and

> strays into an impossible "dialogue" with the dominant elites. It ends up being manipulated by the elites, and not infrequently itself falls into the elitist game.[17]

The primary objective of manipulation of the masses is to inculcate them with the bourgeois way of life personal success, wealth accumulation, entrepreneurship, etc. Manipulation is either carried on directly or indirectly through populist leaders. Populist leaders, Freire argues, are ambiguous beings, they are like amphibians, who live in two worlds, courting the masses and the dominant elites.

Because of their rather ambiguous position, populist leaders do not serve the revolutionary process in any way. It is only through the abandoning of their precarious position of dual action and moving closer to the masses that they can aid the revolutionary process. Any such attempts at moving closer to the masses will, indeed, be faced with a great deal of opposition from the dominant groups. As a case in point, Freire cited the problems of Getulio Vargas, when he returned to power in 1950 as an elected President. At the May Day rally in 1950, Vargas appealed for support from the working class:

> I have come to say at this moment the administration does not yet have the laws or the concrete instruments for immediate action to defend the people's economy. It is thus necessary for the people to organise - not only to defend their interests, but also to give the government the base of support it requires to carry out its objectives... I need your unity. I need for you, in solidarity, to organise yourselves in unions. I need for you to form a strong and cohesive block to stand beside the government so that it will have all the force

> it needs to solve your problems. I need your unity so you can fight against saboteurs, so you do not fall prey to the interests of speculators and rapacious scoundrels in detriment of the interests of the people... The hour has come to appeal to the workers; unite in your unions as free and organised forces...at the present time no administration can survive or dispose of sufficient forces to achieve its social ends if it does not have the support of the laboring organisations.[18]

From that moment on Vargas met with tremendous obstacles until he committed suicide in August 1954, when he was about to be overthrown. Had he not moved that close to the people, he certainly would have been allowed to continue as Head of State. This fact is succintly articulated by Freire, when he suggested that; "any populist leader who moves (even discreetly) towards the people in any way other than as the intermediary of oligarchies will be curbed by the latter.[19]

Another mechanism of manipulation is the use of social welfare. Freire argues that this is a deliberate destructive mechanism in terms of grappling with the objective problems of society. Since everyone cannot receive social welfare, those who do not receive any become envious of those who are receiving welfare. In consequence, this tends to increase the restlessness of the oppressed.

3.2.4 CULTURAL INVASTION

The last fundamental characteristic of anti-dialogical action is cultural invasion. Here,

> the invaders penetrate the cultural context of

> another group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit their creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression.[20]

Cultural invasion can either be accomplished by a metropolitan power, creating what Martin Carnoy referred to as cultural dependence[21] or could be done in the context of one class over another. In the case of the Third World, the former approach would be most prevalent and is also likely to set the stage for the latter.

For cultural invasion to succeed, the invaded people must first accept that they are intrinsically "inferior" and secondly, accept the natural superiority of the invaders. Thus, the norms and values of the oppressor become those emulated by the oppressed who are consequently alienated from their own spirit and culture. Accordingly, Albert Memmi wrote:

> In the name of what he hopes to become, he sets his mind on impoverishing himself, tearing away from his true self. The crushing of the colonised is included in the coloniser's values. As soon as the colonised adopts those values, he similarly adopts his own condemnation. In order to free himself, at least so he believes, he agrees to destroy himself... Negro women try desperately to uncurl their hair, which keeps curling back, and torture their skin to make it a little whiter.[22]

These types of cultural enforcement are also fostered by the creation of certain institutions. The homes and schools exist as part of the larger social structure, with their primary function of training future oppressors, once

the oppressors from metropolitan power leave. Indeed, the parent-child relationship reflects the socio-cultural conditions of the society at large. If social conditions are repressive and rigid, then it will be reflected at home. As the authoritarian relations in the home increase, children at very young ages have the tendency of internalising that relationship. Consequently, those raised in this type of atmosphere will finally drift towards total indifference and alienation and "may engage in forms of destructive action."[23]

Having internalised the authoritarianism at home, which is also enforced by the rigid structures of the school system, the youth who becomes a professional tends to enforce the same type of treatment to that which he had experienced. This phenomenon, Freire argues, perhaps explains the fact why so many professionals engage in anti-dialogical action. They are now the new oppressors even though they see themselves as the "promoters of the people". Their actions are guided by their own convictions and objectives. Since the metropolitan rulers feel that the masses are illiterate and lazy, it is considered absurd to consult with them on local programs geared to the education of the masses.

Cultural invasion only serves the end of preserving oppression and further involves a very static view of reality where one's world view is imposed upon another. Decisions regarding society's development are always made by

the oppressor class. For this reason, in the Third World societies, it would be very difficult to speak of development. Freire argues that since Third World societies are:

> dependent on metropolitan societies (they) cannot develop because they are alienated; their political, economic and cultural decision-making power are located outside themselves, in the invader society. In the last analysis, the latter determines the destiny of the former.[24]

He sees that these decisions, which are made from the outside, only benefit the metropolitan bourgeoisie. As a consequence, therefore, it is in their interest to have the Third World underdeveloped.

Further he argues that in the context of the institutionalised oppression, modernisation should not be confused with development. Although modernisation may benefit a small group in the satellite State, the majority of the benefits are accrued to the metropole. Any state where modernisation is taking place will continue to remain dependent on an outside country. Therefore, in order to understand whether a society is developing or not:

> One must go beyond the criteria based on indices of "per capita" income (which, expressed in statistical form, are misleading) as well as those which concentrate on the study of gross income. The basic elementary criterion is whether or not society is "being for itself". If it is not, the other criteria indicate modernisation rather than development.[25]

The principal contradiction between the underdeveloped and

the metropolitan societies is the existing dependent relationship.

Having failed to first generate any meaningful development which would benefit the masses and second, to resolve the internal and external contradictions, certain reforms are undertaken to appease the population. These so-called reforms are usually referred to as 'band aid' solutions. Invariably, they become a new method for maintaining the hegemony of the elites and for them it is a matter of "Let us carry out reforms before the people carry out the revolution."[26] Thus, in order to acquire this goal, conquest, divide and rule, manipulation and cultural invasion of the dependent societies are approaches which are absolutely necessary. The upper classes of the dependent nations are merely proxy for the metropolitan powers and the former are viable insofar as they are dependent.

3.3 BANKING EDUCATION

According to Freire, education is the principal mechanism used by the dominating elites to maintain and enhance the process of dehumanisation. Conquest, divide and rule, manipulation and cultural invasion are all an integral part of the school system. Schools do not exist in a vacuum. They are an intrinsic part of the total economic, social and political structure which supports them. For this reason, Freire rejects the positivist view that education is neutral. Accordingly, he wrote:

> All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the educators part. This stance in turn implies - sometimes more, sometimes less explicitly of man and the world. It could not be otherwise.[27]

Indeed, this implies that education can either be used as a mechanism for domestication or liberation and in this case it is a force for domestication.

Freire refers to this type of education as banking education. Such an education is fundamentally narrative in nature. Students only memorise and repeat phrases which are told to them by the teacher. For example, students may be asked "what is the capital of Guyana?", without understanding the significance of the capital city of Guyana.

For Freire, then, banking education is "an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher the depositor...the teacher...makes the deposit and the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat."[28] In adult literacy programs this theory manifests itself by the fact that reading materials have very little relevance to daily life. People are not made to realise that their life situations exist with the historical process of society, but rather only within themselves. Further, banking education is the major contributing factor to the alienation and docility of the oppressed class. In this type of education the learner becomes an object and works to achieve goals which are external to him.

In banking education, knowledge is considered a gift bestowed, by the teacher, upon the learner. And thus, the teacher is the beholder of all knowledge. The stuent-teacher contradiction is maintained through the following process:

1. the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
2. the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
3. the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
4. the teacher talks and the students listen - meekly;
5. the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
6. the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
7. the teacher acts and students have illusions of acting through the action of the teacher;
8. the teacher chooses the program content and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
9. the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the student;
10. the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.[29]

Subjected to this type of relationship, students are less likely to develop any form of critical thinking and self-awareness. This would naturally prevent them from becoming part of the transforming process of their society. Their view of the world, therefore, only exists in a fragmented state.

The model of education presented to the oppressed is that shaped by the objectives of the oppressor. And as such, this form of education only serves to maintain the status quo and deliberately stifles any type of creativity. As he put it, "the banking approach masks the effort to turn men into automatons - the very negation of their ontological vocation to be more fully human." The very explicit

ideological content of banking education was best summarized by Karl Marx, when he wrote:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling class ideas: i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force.[30]

This makes people act in direct contradiction to their own needs and liberation process.

The concept of banking education also assumes that man is not a creator or re-creator in the world, but rather a mere spectator. He has an empty mind and openly accepts what is told to him from the outside. The role of the teacher, therefore, is to regulate the ways in which students see the world. The information students receive from teachers are considered true knowledge. Those who are able to fully reiterate this knowledge are truly educated and can be more adaptable in society:

> This concept (adaptable) is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors, whose tranquility rests on how well men fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it.[31]

The more people adapt to the purpose prescribed by the ruling class, the easier it will be for the dominant group to prescribe.

Banking education, indeed, serves the interests of the oppressor class, and because it is based on the false notion of men as objects, it is incapable of promoting any form of development. It is further based on the static and mechanistic view of reality which as a consequence

transforms students into passive receiving objects. Both thought and action are strictly controlled and as a result inhibit any creativity.

From the educator's point of view, these are two distinguishable stages of teaching. First, the lesson is prepared for study and second, the students are told what they need to know about that particular lesson. The duty of the students is to memorise that which was told to them by the teacher, without question. They then become obedient, polite, respectful of authority, and become somewhat motivated by the imaginary prospects and goals that lie ahead.

Banking education domesticates students for it only emphasises the transfer of knowledge, in which process students receive, file and store the deposits. This form of knowledge acts to submerge any form of critical thinking and produces an alienated consciousness. In this context, Freire's concept of alienatioin is similar to that of Karl Marx's. Suffice it to say that for Marx alienation meant that working people are mere objects only to be used in the production process:

> The alienation of the worker in his product, means not only that his labor becomes an object, assumes an external existence, but it exists independently, outside himself, and alien to him, and that it stands opposed to him as an autonomous power.[32]

Students are in no way involved in the act of knowing. They are being given a ready-made view of reality. It

mythisizes the real world and certain facts which explain the way in which man's existence is concealed. Therefore, "banking theory and practice has immobilizing and fixating forces, fail to acknowledge men as historical beings."[33]

From the forgoing discussion, it is evident that oppression is both an internal and external phenomenon. The only beneficiaries are the local elites and metropolitan bourgeoisie. Further, oppression can either take the form of physical violence or paternalism, with the main objectives of political, economic and cultural domination.

The most effective way in which oppression is maintained and prolonged is through the education system. That is why the British insisted on "compulsory" education; secondary and post-secondary institutions, such as the University of the West Indies, were created - to make "Black Englishmen" out of West Indians in mass production. This educated class was to become the interpreters and later the proxy for the metropolitan powers.

According to Freire, these are the ways in which the process of dehumanisation is maintained. The following chapter will attempt to discuss Freire's philosophy on education for liberation. In other words, the role which education can play in liberating the masses from the present state of oppression.

Notes

1. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, Middlesex: Penquin Books, 1975, p. 30.

2. Ibid.

3. Paulo Freire, Pedegogy of the Oppressed, New York: The Seabury Press, 1973, p. 73.

4. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 39.

5. Ibid.

6. Paulo Freire, Pedegogy of the Oppressed, p. 135.

7. Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and Colonized, Boston: Beacon Press, 1965, p. 81.

8. S. B. O. Gutto, "Captivity of the Press" in Monthly Review, New York: January, 1983, p. 31-32.

9. A. K. Singh, Indian Students in Britain, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965, p. 15.

10. Dwarka Nath, History of the East Indians in Guyana, London: Butler and Tanner Ltd. 1970, p. 1.

11. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 139.

12. Ibid, p. 140.

13. Ibid, pp. 140-141.

14. Ibid, pp. 142-143.

15. Ibid, p. 142.

16. Ibid, p. 145.

17. Ibid, p. 146.

18. Getulio Vargas, cited in, Ibid, p. 148.

19. Ibid, p. 149.

20. Ibid, p. 150.

21. Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, New York: David McKay Co. Inc., p. 55.

22. Albert Memmi, op cit., pp. 121-122.

23. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 152.

24. Ibid, p. 160.

25. Ibid, pp. 160-161.

26. Ibid, p. 161.

27. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 21.

28. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 58.

29. Ibid, p. 59.

30. Karl Marx, The German Ideology, New York: International Publishers Inc., 1939, p. 39.

31. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 63.

32. Karl Marx, cited in Eric Fromm Marx's Concept of Man, New York: Frederick Unger Co., 1961, p. 98.

33. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 71.

4. EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

> "to reconstruct it (education) so that man will not be destroyed, and so that all the gold in his nature will apppear in the sunlight."[1]

In place of banking education, which only acts to oppress mankind, Freire proposes a dialogic and problem-posing form of education, which will liberate man from his present state of oppression.

4.1 NECESSITY FOR DIALOGUE

However, before such a form of education can be undertaken, Freire argued that certain characteristics must exist within men. True dialogue, he suggests, cannot exist without profound love for humanity and the world. This concept of love was directly borrowed from Che Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary, who earlier wrote:

> At the risk of seeming ridiculous a true revolutionary is guided by strong feelings of love. It is impossible to think of a true revolutionary without this quality."[2]

Love, in other words, is a courageous act; it is a commitment to other men. Such a form of love cannot be sentimental, or else it is subject to manipulation. Without love, therefore, men cannot engage in dialogue.

Freire further notes that to engage in dialogue, one must possess humility. Men who lack humility cannot engage in a dialogue with the people and therefore cannot engage in the process of transforming reality. "How can I dialogue if

I regard myself a case apart from other men - mere "its" in whom I cannot recognise other "I"?"[3]

Meaningful dialogue also requires complete faith in man's ability in making himself fully human. Faith in man is an essential requirement for engaging in dialogue:

> The "dialogical man" is critical and knows that although it is within the power of men to create and transform, in a concrete situation of alienation men may be impaired in the use of that power.[4]

Again, within strong commitment in man's faith "dialogue is a force and degenerates into paternalistic manipulation."[5]

Real dialogue cannot take place without hope that man will be free. The present state of oppression cannot be the cause of despair, but hope, which can lead us to incessant pursuit of justice and freedom. Freire suggested that:

> As long as I fight, I am moved by hope, then I can wait. As the encounter with men seeking to be more fully human, dialogue cannot be carried in a climate of hopelessness. If the dialogues expect nothing to come of their efforts, their encounter will be empty and sterile, bureaucratic and tedious. [6]

Finally, true dialogue cannot exist without people engaging in critical thinking. "Dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking."[7] Also, without dialogue there can be no communication and hence no true education.

The concepts discussed above, love, humility, faith, hope, critical thinking are the key elements in the relationship among all those involved in dialogue. This

creates a mutual trust which leads everyone into a closer relationship in thought and action. Conversely, the trust and horizontal relationships are absent from the anti-dialogic banking method of education.

Having established this set of criteria, Freire proposed a theory of dialogical action, having four components - cooperation, unity for liberation, organisation and cultural synthesis.

Freire's education is centered on a problem-posing model of communciation. Within this model, the teacher becomes a teacher-student, who in a dialogical relationship with the student-teachers explores and unveils the world of their experience. The educator is seen as a cognitive participant with the students. He (the educator) is the teacher-student in that he will present a display or pose the problematic, but always in relation to the congnitive experience of the student-teacher world. This world becomes the object of reflection for both parties and is constantly being revealed through reflection and re-consideration of this reflection. "The teacher presents the material to the students for their consideration, and re-considers his earlier considerations as the students express their own."[8] In this manner the students begin to see and understand their concrete situation in a historical context. They will come to create history, i.e. they can reflect on and transform the world:

In problem-posing education, men develop their

> power to percieve critically the way they exist in the world within which they find themselves; they come to see that world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation.[9]

This real dialogue between students and teachers produces conscientization, the magic word in Freire's philosophy.

In order to achieve conscientization, which involves critical examination of or reflection upon reality, there cannot be an individual approach but a collective one. Freire argues that the term conscientization is co-intentional, where, through the process of dialogue, both students and teachers critically unveil reality and in the process recreate a new one.

Within the tradition of radical political economy, Freire attempts to give an understanding of the relationship between consciousness and the social structure:

> As men act upon the world effectively, transforming it by their work, their consciousness is in turn historically and culturally conditioned... According to the quality of this conditioning, men's consciousness attains various levels in the context of cultural-historical reality.[10]

Freire further argues that just as, historically, there are different levels of societal development, there are different levels of consciousness. And each level of consciousness corresponds to a particular historical epoch.

4.2 STAGES OF CONSCIENTISATION

In the Third World, and more specifically, in Latin America, Freire distinguishes three levels of historical, socio-cultural framework - closed, splitting and open societies. Each of these corresponds to a different type of consciousness - semi-intransitive, naive-transitive and critical consciousness.

4.2.1 SEMI-INTRANSITIVE CONSCIOUSNESS - CLOSED SOCIETIES

Closed societies are first marked by their total dependence on foreign powers and their rigid hierarchical class structure. This fact is borne out clearly during the colonial period in Latin America. These societies suffer a dual dependence - dependence dependence on the metropolitan powers and the comprador elites of their own societies.

With political independence some attempted solutions to underdevelopment were introduced, but these societies continue to be dependent on the metropolis. There is a total lack of participation in public affairs, by the masses which lack of participation gives rise to the culture of silence. This, as Freire noted, is a necessary condition for domination. With special reference to Latin America, he wrote:

> Latin American societies are closed societies characterized by a rigid hierarchical social structure; by the lack of internal markets, since their economy is controlled from the outside; by the exportation of raw materials and the importation of manufactured goods, without a voice in either process; by a

> precarious and selective educational system whose schools are an instrument of maintaining the status-quo; by high percentages of illiteracy and disease, including the naively named "tropical diseases" which are really diseases of underdevelopment and dependence; by alarming rates of infant mortality, by malnutrition, often with irreparable effects of mental faculties, by a low life expectancy; and by a high rate of crime.[11]

The mode of consciousness which corresponds to these societies in semi-intransitive consciousness, which according to Freire:

> lacks structural perception...which is historically conditioned by their social structures...
> The principal characteristic, as dependent as the society to whose structures it conforms, is its 'quasi-adherence' to objective reality or 'quasi-immersion' in reality... the dominated consciousness does not have sufficient distance from reality to objectify it in order to know it in a critical way.[12]

Hence, this level of consciousness is restricted to the biological spheres of life where people are merely concerned with their day to day survival. Thus, the reltionships which helped to shape their socio-cultural and economic milieu are incomprehensible to them. And explanations of their problems lie in a supernatural power, which suggests "God made it that way".

Having totally internalised their oppression, the oppressed are afraid to embrace freedom. Because of this fear of freedom, the oppressed often desire the role of the oppressor:

> ...the oppressed, who have adapted to the structure of domination in which they are

> immersed, and have become resigned to it, are inhibited from waging the struggle for freedom so long as they feel incapable of running the risks it requires.[13]

4.2.2 NAIVE-TRANSITIVE CONSCIOUSNESS - SPLITTING SOCIETIES

At certain points in the history of closed societies certain splits begin to occur and a transitional phase begins to appear. In the case of Brazil, Freire suggested that this transitional phase began in the last quarter of the NineteenthCentury with the abolition of slavery:

> The abolition of slavery in Brazil brought about the inversion of capital in incipient industries, and stimulated the first waves of German, Italian and Japanese immigration to the southern central and southern Brazilian states.[14]

The impact of the infrastructural changes began producing significant cracks in the society. The culture of silence, however, is not automatically broken, since these societies continue to remain silent with respect to the metropolitan powers. Internally, however, the masses began to gradually come out of the culture of silence. During this transitional stage "the predominantly static character of closed societies gradually yields to a dynamism in all dimensions of social life."[15]

Oligarchical politics begins to yield to the politics of populism, particularly in the urban centres. But while populism can pose a threat and indeed a danger to oligarchical politics, it is also very manipulative of the masses. In other words, populism plays a dual role:

> On one hand, it is undeniably a kind of political opiate which maintains not only the naivete of the emerging consciousness, but also the people's habit of being directed. On the other hand, to the extent it uses mass protest and demands, political manipulation paradoxically accelerates the process by which people unveil reality. This paradox sums up the ambiguous character of populism; it is manipulative, yet at the same time a factor for mobilization.[16]

Indeed, this process is often met with hostile reaction, both from internal and external forces. In the case of Brazil:

> Internal reactionary forces centred around the latifundiary interests were joined and given support by external forces that wished to prevent Brazil's transformation from an object to a subject society. These external forces attempted their own pressures and their own assistencial solutions.[17]

This stage then is mainly characterised by a broadening of awareness of the masses and their capacity to respond to suggestions and problems of their world within and around them. People are now becoming more aware of their conditions of dependency. It is also marked by the radicalisation of the intellectuals and students. Politically, societies at this stage of consciousness can either move to the left or to the right. In most cases, however, together with the internal reactionary elements and external help, these societies have moved to the right.

Although Freire argues that it is the structural transformations which give rise to naive-transitive consciousness, he warns that "there are no rigidly defined frontiers between the historical moments which produce

qualitative changes in men's awareness".[18] Although it is the structural transformations which set the stage for this type of consciousness, he adds that with respect to the Latin American peasantry:

> the semi-intranstive consciousness remains present in the naive-transitive consciousness... almost the entire peasant popultion is still in the stage of quasi-immersion, a stage with a much longer history than the present one of emergence.[19]

The traditional elites are now anxiously fighting to preserve the status quo.

4.2.3 OPEN SOCIETIES - CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

An open society, according to Freire, is one which corresponds to the aspirations of a truly participatory democracy. Open societies are further characterised by public solidarity, that is, by the involvement of more groups of people in the problems common to all. Social distance and unequal property relations in open societies are not given structural support. Nor is authority surrounded a group of self-seeking individuals. On the contrary, however, a critical attitude towards authority is fostered, through public participation in self-government. Finally, another fundamental characteristic which is intrinsic to open societies, is their tendency to constant change.

The consciousness which occurs in these societies is characterised by a:

> depth in the interpretation of problems; by casual principles for magical explanations; by testing one's "findings" and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old - by accepting what is valid from both old and new.[20]

Critical consciousness, according to Freire, implies the problematisation of the relationship between man and the structured world in which he exists. There must be a heightened sensitivity towards sloganising, mythologising and ideologising, that is, to any form of manipulation.

The aim of critical consciousness is to help make people aware of their situation vis-a-vis the society. But this awareness needs to be acted upon, which brings up the issue of praxis. Through both thought and action, man is not only aware of the social reality but can transform it and create a new one. Furthermore, becoming conscientized is not an academic matter; it involves commitment to change. In short, critical consciousness involves the following:

1. It is a process involving critical reflection and action (praxis) on the social world.
2. It is a means by which men/women become become knowing subjects not passive objects.
3. It is the achievement of an ever-deepening awareness of the socio-cultural and historical reality which shapes their lives.
4. It is an awareness of their capacity to know and transform that realtiy.
5. It is a commitment to that transformation.[21]

The transition from naive-transitive to critical consciousness and its corresponding social structure requires profound culture change which is only achievable by creating an understanding that culture is a human creation. For Freire education is either used as a tool of domestication or that of liberation, but education should be used for the latter. Education as a method of cultural action for freedom implies a set of both theoretical and practical categories.

4.3 FREIRE'S METHODOLOGY

To achieve the goal of conscientisation or critical consciousness, Freire proposed a special instructional methodology beginning from the obvious point that peoples of the Third World are suffering an incessant exploitative relationship and are therefore in need of a revolutionary pedagogy,

> a pedagogy which must be forged with, not for, in the incessant struggle to rgain their humanity. This pedagogy makes oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for liberation. And in this struggle, this pedagogy will be made and remade.[22]

This method, according to Freire, must be an active one. This indeed implies, both, man's reflection upon the world and his constant interaction with it. However, mere interaction and reflection upon the world are not enough:

> The pedagogy of the oppressed, as a humanist

> and libertarian pedagogy, has two distinct stages. In the first, the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation. In the second stage, in which the reality of oppression has alredy been transformed, this pedagogy of all men in the process of permanent liberation. In both stages it is always through action in depth that the culture of domination is culturally confronted.[23]

It is clear from the above, very important to Freire's is cultural action for freedom. Also very important is his concept of praxis. Without the use of praxis, according to Freire, there cannot be any liberation. Praxis must, therefore, be defined to mean a unity between theory and action. The view expressed here, then, is that man is both a reflector and actor upon his world and needs to transform it from its present state of oppression. The socio-cultural basis of his world has estranged and constrained him from realising his "humanness." Through praxis, he affords himself the opportunity to be liberated from these forces. But the solutions advocated cannot, however, be imposed. They can only come about through dialogue between students and teachers or revolutionary leaders and the masses. "In this theory of action, one cannot speak of an actor, nor simply of actors, but rather of actors in intercommunication."[24] He asserts that:

> The correct method lies in dialogue. The conviction of the oppressed that they must fight for their liberation is not a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leaderships, but the result of their own conscientzacao (conscientization).[25]

Achievement of the consciousness that Freire refers to, cannot be done through manipulation, which is inherent in populist politics. For this reason Freire has given much credence to revolutionary leaders, who in no uncertain terms are devoted to the people and revolutionary changes. "Revolutionaries must prove their respect for the people, their belief and their confidence in them, not as a mere strategy, but as an implicit requirement to being a revolutionary."[26]

Within revolutionary movements there cannot exist any dichotomy between revolutionary leaders and the people. At the same time Freire singles out certain revolutionary leaders who personify true revolutionary leadership. He often mentions Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro, Camillo Torres, Amilcar Cabral and Che Guevara. Although Freire has the highest regard for these men, he pays the highest tribute to Che Guevara:

> Che Guevara is an example of the unceasing witness revolutionary leadership gives to dialogue with the people. The more we study his work, the more we percieve his conviction that anyone who wants to become a true revolutionary must be in 'comunion' with the people. Guevara did not hesitate to recognize the capacity to love as an indespensablecondition for authentic revolutionaries.[27]

For Freire then, violence is not initiated with hate, but rather with love. In class structured societies dialogue between the oppressor and oppressed is impossible. Therefore, in order to end their subjugation of the masses the violent overthrow of the elites becomes an integral part

of the revolutionary process. Even after the overthrow of the repressive system, Freire argues that the new power has the moral obligation to repress any attempt to restore the old political system. At he same time, he does not see the use of violence to retain revolutionary power as being contradictory, because, for Freire, dialogue cannot exist between the oppressor and oppressed,either before or after the revolution. Dialogue at all times requires love, faith and hope in mankind. And the process of change lies in a new breed of revolutionaries such as Che Guevara and Camillo Torres.

Another very important concept in Freire's theory of change is his concept of the democratic participation of the masses. According to Freire, political participation is the only way of knowing and learning to behave democratically. The participation of the people in building a new society is most crucial for the building of democracy. The dedication to mass participation has to be so strong that is is almost utopic in nature. The utopian character of Freire's dialogical, problem-posing education and the non-manipulative revolutionary process has a particular orientation for the future. For this reason, Friere suggests that the reasons why revolutionary groups and the reactionary forces differ are because:

> the utopic nature of revolutionary groups and the impossibility of the right to be utopic... real utopic implies the denunciation of an unjust reality and the proclamation of a pre-project... revolutionary leadership cannot:

1. Denounce reality without knowing reality;
2. Proclaim a new reality without having to draft a project which, although it emerges in the denounciation, becomes a viable project only in praxis;
3. Know reality without relying on the people as well as on objective facts for the source of its knowledge;
4. Denounce and proclaim by itself;
5. Make new myths out of denounciation and announciation - denounciation and announciation must be anti-ideological in so far as they result from a scientific knowledge of reality;
6. Renounce communion with the people, not only during the time between the dialectic of denounciation and announciation and the concretization of a viable project, but also in the very act of giving that project concrete reality.[28]

The dialogical interaction between leaders, on the one hand, and the people, on the other, produces conscientization. For Freire then:

> Conscientizationis a joint project in that it takes place in a man among other men, united by their action and by their reflection upon that action and upon the world... Conscientization is more than a prise de conscience. While it implies overcoming 'false consciousness', overcoming, that is, a semi-intransitive or naive-transitive state of consciousness, it implies further the critical insertion of the conscientized person into a demythologized society.[29]

The above discussion, then, represents a general overview of the principles on which Feire's methodology is based. However, the application of this method will be different in the various regions of the Third World, depending on the society's history, socio-cultural and economic make-up. The following discussion will now detail some specifics with regards to Freire's methodology.

As has been suggested earlier, Freire's methodology was evolved in Brazil, before the coup in 1964, among the

peasants and urban slum dwellers. His work began in what he referred to as 'circles of culture'. In these circles of culture, a coordinator engaged the students in constant dialogue. Among the more prevalent topics for discussion were: nationalism, expatriation of profits, development, the politico-historical evolution of Brazil, democracy, illiteracy, etc.

Freire's approach to the problem of literacy was that it attempted to deal with illiteracy, not in a mechanical sense, but in a political and socio-cultural manner:

> the solution to their problem is not to become 'being inside of', but men freeing themselves; for in reality, they are not marginal to the structure, but oppressed men within it. Alienated men they cannot overcome their dependency by 'incorporation' into the very structure responsible for their dependency. There is no other road to humanisation - their's as well as everyone else's.[30]

The task of teaching men and women to read and write is not a matter of memorising words and phrases, but involves the process of naming the world. The role of the educator, therefore, is to enter into dialogue with the illiterates about concrete problems and offer them the necessary tools with which they can be able to teach themselves to read and write.

Freire's method of literacy campaign is divided into two phases, the literacy campaign and post literacy campaign, with each having several stages.

4.3.1 PHASE ONE

Stage I: An interdisciplinary team of coordinators select an area where the literacy campaign will take place. They are to study the context in which the people live and to determine the common vocabulary. The maximum input is sought from the people in the area. In this context, Freire strongly contends that words should come from the people themselves, as he was very much against the use of primers.

Stage II: From the words gathered by the team for study, words having the most relevant meaning to the people should be slected. Freire refers to these words as 'generative' words, because of their power to generate other words. Such words must be chosen according to certain criteria: (a) The phonetic richness of the words. These words must be based on a certain amount of syllabic variation and combination (b) The second criterion for choosing the generative words is that when these are organised they must allow students to move from the simple words and sounds to more difficult ones (c) Perhaps the most important criterion for choosing the generative words is its capacity to engage students in a discussion of the socio-cultural and political reality of their society.

Stage III: This stage of phase one involves the actual process of literacy training. First and foremost, as in the case of Brazil, the initial literacy program was preceeded by three sessions of motivation in which students began analysing the concept of culture. In these sessions pictures

are shown to the students for the purpose of provoking discussions about man, nature, culture, human behavior, etc.

The materials developed for study must be relevant to each situation of which there are usually two types. First, there is a set of cards or slides which show the breaking down of words into different parts. The second set of materials is a set of cards depicting situations relating to the words. The pictures on these cards are designed to stimulate the thinking about the situations which the words might imply. The development of images of reality, which must represent familiar local situations, is what Freire refers to as codification:

> Codification refers alternatively to the imaging, or the image itself of some significant aspect of the learner's concrete reality (of a slum dwelling, for example). As such, it becomes both the object of the teacher learner dialogue and the context for the introduction of the generative word.[31]

Through these pictures, then, the real life situations of people are codified in pictorial form. And it (codification) therefore:

> represents a given dimension of reality as individuals live it, and this dimension is proposed for their analysis in a context other than in which they live it. Codification thus transforms what was a way of life in the real context into 'objectum' in the theoretical context. The learners rather than receive information about this or that fact, analyse the aspects of their own existential situations...[32]

As previously suggested, each session is organised around words and pictures. For example, the word favela

(slum) might be printed with a picture of a slum on the background. The class then begins to discuss the relation between slum and the reality it signifies. Then the word is broken up into syllables. From these syllables students are then allowed to create other words. When the second generative word is introduced, students are, then, led to create words using syllables from both words. From knowing five to six words, students can then begin to write brief notes. However, they continue to critically analyse that which is presented to them. Freire referred to this process of decodification. "The main aim of decodification is to arrive at the critical level of knowing, beginning with the learner's experience of the situation in the real context."[33]

4:3.2 PHASE TWO

While Freire was still in Brazil in the capacity of director of the National Literacy Program, he was planning the post literacy campaign. However, this part of the program was never instituted in Brazil because of the military coup. Nonetheless, he was able to utilise this part of his method in Chile.

Stage I: In this stage, the interdisciplinary team investigates themes that are common to or most prevalent in the day to day lives of the people. Together with the people, themes are selected for discussion. Freire suggests that with regards to the Third World, many themes could be

investigated, such as the concepts of development, underdevelopment, domination, dependency, education, etc.

Stage II: Once the themes for discussion are concretised, both sketches and pictures are employed in order to foster dialogue. However, the materials presented must be familiar to the people so that the situations can be easily recognisable. Equally important "for the preparation of the codification is that their thematic nucleus be neither overly explicit nor overly enigmatic."[34] However, Freire warns that both of these run the risk of degenerating into mere propoganda appearing to be a guessing game. Bearing this in mind, he suggests that:

> Since they represent existential situations, the codifications should be simple in their complexity and offer various decoding possibilities in order to avoid the brain-washing tendencies of propoganda. Codifications are not slogans, they are cognizable objects, challenges towards which the critical reflection of the decoders should be directed.[35]

Once the various themes have been developed, the interdisciplinary team returns to the people to initiate dialogue on these themes. The coordinators both listen and challenge the people by posing certain problems. This then involves a true dialogue between the coordinator and the people.

Stage III: Now that the themes have been chosen and the necessary kind of dialogue is taking place, Freire suggests various methods when dialogue and education could be carried out; reading and discussion of magazine, books and newspaper

articles. But the primary emphasis must be on dialogue, where the people must feel they are being listened to and their ideas are important. The important thing here is that they are masters of their own thought:

> this view of education starts with the conviction that it cannot present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people, it serves to introduce the pedagogy of the oppressed, in the elaboration of which the oppressed must participate.[36]

4.4 ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

In Freire's methodology, a theory of dialogical action is very explicit. Such a theory is oriented towards the role of the revolutionary leadership in the process of social change. For the revolutionary leadership to be effective it must possess four constituent elements: Cooperation, Unity for Liberation, Organization and Cultural Synthesis.

4.4.1 COOPERATION

Cooperation, according to Freire, can only be achieved through dialogue. This dialogue can only be effective if it occurs among subjects which focus on the social reality and how that reality can be transformed. The oppressive reality can only be transformed through constant dialogue, for no one can unveil the world for another.

Revolutionary leaders, at the same time, must believe in the potentials of the people in that they are capable of participating in the pursuit of freedom and liberation.

However, they should not show blind trust of the oppressed masses. To make this point more succintly, Freire cited the Cuban revolutionary, Che Guevara:

> Mistrust: at the beginning do not trust your own shadow, never trust friendly peasants, informers, guides or contact men. Do not trust anything or anybody until the zone is completely liberated.[37]

Here Freire argues that Guevara did not in any way disregard the theory of dialogical action, but was rather merely being a realist. Freire further went on to explain that on one hand, Guevara sought to punish deserters in order to maintain discipline and cohesion of the group, and on the other, he sought to maintain cooperation with the masses. Based on his experience in Sierra Maestra, Guevara wrote:

> As a result of daily contact with these people and their problems we became firmly convinced for a complete change in the life of our people. The idea of an agrarian reform became crystal-clear. Comunion with the people ceased to be a mere theory, to become an integral part of ourselves.
>
> Guerillas and peasants began to merge into a solid mass. No one can exactly say when, in this long process, the ideas became reality and we became a part of the peasantry. As far as I am concerned, the contacts with my patients in the Sierra turned a spontaneous and somewhat lyrical decision into a more serene force, one of an entirely different value. The poor, suffering, loyal inhabitants of the Sierra cannot even imagine what a great contribution they made to the forging of our revolutionary ideology.[38]

Hence, this fusion among the people and revolutionary leaders "can only exist if revolutionary action is really human, empathetic, loving, communicative and humble, in

order to be liberating."[39]

4.4.2 UNITY FOR LIBERATION

Unlike the theory of anti-dialogical action, which compels itself to divide the oppressed masses, the theory of dialogical action, on the other hand, requires that the leaders must dedicate themselves to forging a unity among the dispossessed:

> Whereas in the antidialogical theory of action the dominators are compelled by necessity to devidethe oppressed, the more easilty to preserve the state of oppression, in the dialogical theory the leaders must dedicate themselves to an untiring effort for unity among the oppressed - and unity of the leaders with the oppressed - in order to achieve liberation.[40]

This unity can only exist in the unity among the exploited masses. To achieve unity among the people would require some form of cultural action through which the people will come to realise the whys and hows of their present reality:

> To achieve this indispensable unity the revolutionary process must be, from the beginning, cultural action. The methods used to achieve the unity of the oppressed will depend on the latter's historical and existential experience within the social structure.[41]

Indeed, such a unity will unquestionably require class consciousness.

4.4.3 ORGANISATION

Organisation, Freire suggests, is a natural development in the pursuit of unity:

> the leaders' pursuit of unity is necessarily also an attempt to organize the people, requiring witness to the fact that the struggle for liberation is a common task.[42]

For Freire, then, revolutionary leaders must organise themselves with the people. Organising must, therefore, be dialogical and the leader who does not act in a dialogical manner becomes the oppressor, to which he rejects any form of authoritarianism. Finally, Freire argues that:

> Organization... is a highly educational process in which the leaders and people together experience true authority and freedom, which they seek to establish a society by transforming the reality which mediates them.[43]

4.4.4 CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

The result of dialogical action between the oppressed masses and the revolutionary leaders produces cultural synthesis which is then used to confront the culture which the oppressed class had internalised. This is a dialogical cultural action which becomes a systematic and deliberate action operating upon the social structure with the objective of transforming it. "In this sense, every authentic revolutioin is a cultural revolution."[44]

Freire further argues that through cultural synthesis it is possible to resolve contradictions between the world views of the revolutionary leaders and those of the masses, to the enrichment of both. Indeed, he suggests that cultural synthesis is based on these differences and whatever contradictions may occur among the people, due to historical

conditions, must not be overcome by an imposed relationship. He further suggests that the revolutionary leaders cannot be completely bound by the vision of the people because very often these visions are limited, and for example, might not go beyond the demand for salary increases:

> The solution lies in synthesis: the leaders must on one hand identify with the people's demand for higher salaries, while on the other they must pose the meaning of that very demand as a problem. By doing this, the leaders pose as a problem a real, concrete, historical situation of which the salary demand is one dimension.[45]

In short, the theory of liberation can only be built in the interaction with the people and revolutionary leaders - communion and praxis. This must be an ongoing task, if not, the seemingly revolutionary leaders run the risk of being as oppressive and manipulative as the real oppressors.

Notes

1. Jose Marti, On Education, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979, p. 79: Jose Marti 1853-1895, is known as the father of the Cuban Revolution. He was a poet, jounalist, teacher and political activist. This specific article, "A False Concept of Public Education", was written in November, 1886, for the Argentinian Newspaper La Nacion.

2. Che Guevara, cited in Paulo Freire, Peadagogy of the Oppressed.

3. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 78.

4. Ibid, p. 79.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, p. 80.

7. Ibid, p. 81.

8. Ibid, p. 68.

9. Ibid, pp. 70-71.

10. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, pp. 56-57.

11. Ibid, pp. 61-62.

12. Ibid, p. 62.

13. Paulo Freire, 1973 (a), p. 32.

14. Freire, 1975, p. 63 nf 16.

15. Ibid, p. 66.

16. Ibid, p. 67.

17. Freire, 1973 (b), p. 15.

18. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 64.

19. Ibid, p. 65.

20. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 18.

21. I. A. Snook, "The Concept of Conscientization in Paulo Freire's Philosophy of Education" in New Education, Vols. 2 & 3, no. 1, 1981, p. 38.

22. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 33.

23. Ibid, p. 40.

24. Ibid, p. 123.

25. Ibid, p. 54.

26. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 73.

27. Ibid, p. 74.

28. Ibid, p. 71.

29. Ibid, p. 75.

30. Ibid, p. 38.

31. Ibid, p. 32.

32. Ibid, p. 33.

33. Ibid, p. 33.

34. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 107.

35. Ibid, p. 107.

36. Ibid, p. 118.

37. Cited in Ibid, p. 169 (nf).

38. Cited in Ibid, p. 170.

39. Ibid, p. 171.

40. Ibid, pp. 172-173.

41. Ibid, p. 176.

42. Ibid, p. 176.

43. Ibid, p. 180.

44. Ibid, p. 182.

45. Ibid, p. 185.

5. CRITIQUE AND CONCLUSION

As an outgrowth of the publication of Freire's writings, and his subsequent work in Chile as well as Consultant on Education to the World Council of Churches, many progressive governments of the Third World have invited him to help establish adult literacy programs. His pedagogy sought to help make the masses aware of their situation and at the same time to transform that situation.

Despite this positive response over the last few years, Freire's theories and analyses have produced some strong reactions and this chapter will address some of these criticisms. In addition, an attempt will be made to deal with some of the very important ommissions in Freire's theories and analysis which include such as the role of the State, education and development, ethnicity, conscientisation and social change in a historical context and a critique of Freire's methodology.

5.1 THE ROLE OF THE STATE

In many ways, it can be argued that Freire lives in a world of dilemnas. In his various theoretical discussions, he has argued that for education to have any significant meaning, it must be used as a mechanism for liberation. While this may be true, his experience as an educator has not yielded the rewards of liberation. Instances where Freire attempted to put his theories in practice ended in disaster as in the case of Brazil and Chile. One might

suggest that for Freire's theories to be successful, a certain kind of political climate is required.

It would appear that success in the application of his theory is only possible where there exists popularly supported governments and ones which are really interested in improving the economic and cultural welfare of the masses. Some cases in point are countries like Angola, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau and Nicaragua. Such societies are likely to be more amenable to accepting in practice the educational theories of Freire.

In a sense, Freire's method could be viewed as being politically myopic, since it does not fully take into account the forces of reaction, which exist in these societies. From the position of power occupied by the elites they often take every possible step to repress any movement of liberation coming from below. Further, since the elites dominate the state control mechanisms for these societies, Freire seems to have also neglected here the issue of institutionalised violence, particularly the role of the state in repressive activities in these societies.

It would therefore be useful to have a brief discussion of the nature of the state in Third World societies because it is only through an understanding of the State that we can truly understand the importance and pervasiveness of its oppressive mechanism. According to Frederick Engels, the state is both a product of the ruling class and its ideological defender. Accordingly, he wrote:

> The state presents itself to us as the first ideological power over man. Society creates for itself an organ for the safeguarding of its common interests against internal and external attacks. This organ is the state power. Hardly come into being, this organ makes itself independent vis-a-vis society and indeed, and more so, the more it becomes an organ of a particular class, the more it directly enforces the supremacy of that class. The fight of the oppressed class against the ruling class becomes necessarily political fight, a fight first against the political dominance of this class.[1]

In addition to the political functions of the state, which acts as an instrument of the ruling class to protect and continue its dominance - it also performs, according to Paul Sweezy, two very important economic functions. As he observed:

> First, the state power is invoked to solve problems which are posed by the economic development of the particular form of society under consideration, in this case capitalism... Second, we should naturally expect that the state power under capitalism would be used first and foremost in the interests of the capitalist class since the state is dedicated to the preservation of the structure of capitalism and must therefore be staffed by those who fully accept the postulates and objectives of this form of society.[2]

However, it must be mentioned here that for the sake of keeping peace and tranquility, and to avoid any dangers of violent revolution, the bourgeoisie is always prepared to make concessions through the medium of the state.[3]

Indeed, the state itself cannot be considered monolithic. Even though the state might be very oppressive,

there are many groups, such as the churches, opposition political organisations, trade unions and other organisations which often attempt to ameliorate the extent or degree of this oppression. In times of severe repression, where in most cases, the state rules through its military apparatus, some of those that were once loyal to the state often become disenchanted and form part of a general opposition. Nicaragua, under Somoza, provides a case in point. Because of the brutality of the Somoza dictatorship, many who had a strong loyality to the state joined the opposition forces which finally led to the overhthrow of his government in 1979. Therefore, while the state does exist to protect certain class interests, the contradictions within it sometimes negate class unity.

The features, discussed above, are inherent in the nature of all repressive states including many in the Third World where such repression is often exercised in a somewhat more crude form, partly as a result of imperial manipulation. It must be mentioned here that the rulership of most Third World countries is often determined or strongly influenced by the manoeuvres of the metropolitan powers to exclude the masses from any significant participation in the political process.

Again, in most parts of the Third World, governments come to power without popular support. The lack of substantial support among the internal social base and their quest for remaining in power, "leads to the progressive

fascistisation of the state."[4] Clive Thomas outlines the sequence of this development as follows:

1. In the face of declining output, sales and surpluses in the state sector, domestic inflation, foreign exchange, and balance of payments crises, the state seeks to enforce a reduction in the real wage. Being itself the major employer of labour, the state intervenes to alter the historically developed system of industrial relations. This means among other things: reducing the power of the trade unions; eliminating all wage payments which have as their aim the restoration of the purchasing power of the worker if the general price level increases; linking all wage increases exclusively to increases in productivity as defined by the state; taking advantage of the state's position as common employer to insist on wage agreements across the board for all unions. This latter also means negotiating with the central trade union organization and rejecting the historical role of individual unions in the wage determination process. All this is often couched in ideological terms, e.g. "the need to replace the colonial system of wage determination by a socialist one"; "strikes in the state sector at a time of economic crisis is treasonable and political" etc. Here the propagandist aim is to legitimize the use of the severest force in implementing a policy designed to increase the rate of surpluses in the state sector. Sometimes, as in the case of Guyana, this policy is pursued in alliance with the IMF to which these governments have turned for balance of payments support. This means that in addition, subsidies are removed, taxes increased, state expenditure in such areas as social services are cut, and the state sector is required to charge commercial prices.

2. In the second stage of this process increased repression of the work force inexorably spreads into the repression of legality and human rights for all

> citizens. This progression follows because it is impossible to separate the rights of trade unions and trade unionists from the larger exercise of rights of citizens within a framework of justice. This attack on human rights is in the first instance focused on the courts where efforts are made to "bend" the judiciary to support the executive arm of the state.
>
> 3. The attacks on due process, legality and human rights generally become increasingly politicized and this leads to a third stage in the process of fascistization. Opposition political formations organize in defense of democracy. As all claims to a popular base disappears in the face of growing repression, the ruling group is forced to extend its repression to opposition political groups also. To sanction this under some form of legality, the state is "legally" restructured as the existing constitution is found to be "unworkable" for the newer forms of dictatorship. At this stage political assassination, direct repression of all popular manifestations, and a rapid growth of the security apparatuses of the state take place. All this is propagandized in the familar claims of "law and order" "the necessities of development of a poor country", and "we cannot afford the luxuries of democracy". At this point the fascistization of the state is now very much on the way. From here on, the government through force, propaganda, and state manipulation makes it unmistakably clear that it cannot be changed by legal or constitutional means.[5]

Here Thomas is suggesting that the state not only acts to protect private property, but more importantly is itself an instrument for class domination.

It is precisely this sequence of events that Freire's theory neglects, although clearly, they were part of his own experiences in Brazil. The absence of any address to the role of the state means that Freire does not see that state

coercion in response to education for liberation is a probable outcome of such activities. Indeed, education for libertion will probably be effected only where political transformation (see above) has already occurred.

This seems to be a major shortcoming in Freire's theory. The state apparatus in its use of coercion is crucial in the explanation of the process of change and transformation in the Third World.

5.2 ETHNICITY

The rulers of the state, in their quest to maintain their power, often use various coercive and divisive methods to do so. One such divisive approach is the policy towards national ethnic communities. This is often relected in a policy of pitting one group against another in a well organised attempt to discourage any kind of united opposition, through the careful cultivation of xenophobia and irrationality.

A case in point where such divisive means have been used is that of Guyana. Since Forbes Burnham split with Dr. Cheddi Jagan and the People's Progressive Party in 1955, he has ever since used ethnic politics to keep the people divided. His assumption of power in 1965 only helped to solidify racial tensions. While both ethnic groups - Indo and Afro Guyanese - fought against each other, Burnham was able to justify his efforts to strenghten his power over the state control. At the same time, the Guyanese are kept from

understanding who are their exploiters and oppressors.

While this problem affects many countries of the Third World, most radical thinkers, including Freire, failed to address this problem adequately. It is generally accepted that ethnic differences have been used, by colonial powers, as a mechanism for divide and rule.

Since Third World countries were granted independence, however, the problems posed by the ethnic divisions in these societies have remained ever present or even increased. In many cases, it could be argued that many present day political leaders of the Third World continue to use this problem in order to maintain themselves in power, as in the case of Guyana. What is not clear, however, is in what ways education would be used to begin to address this problem and finally eradicate it, even in a revolutionary society.

Ethnic divisions in Third World societies are a deep rooted problem. It has existed for decades, and in some cases, centuries. In societies where such problem exists,

> there is a continuous social instability from the underlying social tension and recurrent explosion and crisis... And as social explosions occur, substantial resources are used up just to replace fixed assets destroyed in the process... the underlying social tension is certainly a factor that contributes to the persistence of underdevelopment.[6]

The discussion of ethnic divisions, thus far, is only an attempt to pose the problem. There is a deliberate attempt not to provide any suggested solution to this problem as the approach will have to vary in different

societies given their historical and socio-cultural milieu. Nevertheless, such a problem in the Third World today needs almost immediate attention.

Most radical thinkers, like Freire, have invariably subsumed this problem within the larger analytical framework of a class analysis of Third World societies. This notion, however, is rather simplistic, since ethnicity often cuts across and overlaps class distinctions. Understandably, reluctance to grapple seriously with this problem might be due to the complexity of the issue.

However, any attempt to neglect it is only likely to increase the problems of development which could prove insurmountable. In the process of dealing with this problem, perhaps through consciousness-raising, an understanding must be grounded in the people's cultural and socio-historical make-up. Because it is only through such an understanding that ethnicity and ethnic relations that the problems which emanate from ethnic differences could be tackled.

5.3 CONSCIENTISATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The most important concept in Freire's philosophy is the concept of conscientization. However, Freire gives little or no account of material or social basis of such consciousness. According to one author,

He (Freire) gives only the sketchiest of

> accounts of the social roots of such consciousness, and then often forgets about them when discussing conscientisation, or the development of critical consciousness, in a predominantly abstract manner. Now changing consciousness is...necessary. But it is not sufficient, and in any case is incapable of proceeding in an emancipatory direction, changing class consciousness independently of changes in the productive relations of society, or to use Marx's metaphor, independently of developments in the material base.[7]

Therefore, consciousness cannot be understood without an understanding of the social relations of production:

> In the social production their life, men enter into definite relationships that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consiousness.[8]

It is Freire's lack of understanding of the relationship between the notion of consciousness and the relations of production that makes his theory of revolution somewhat obscure.

Because of his inability to recognise this relationship, Freire's theory of revolution has a very heavy emphasis on the cultural dimension. "Revolution is always cultural...In the new society, the revolutionary process becomes cultural revolution."[9] This point of Freire's again

obscures the fundamental issues of political and economic power. Any meaningful theory of revolution must be conceived in political and economic terms, since it is the transformation of political economy that provides the foundations of a socialist society:

> Revolutionary change, to be self-sustaining, must not only affect relationships between people, but also between people and their material environment. It is the achievement of both which permits the transition to a higher mode of production.[10]

Freire's attempt to forge a universal theory of cultural revolution oversimplifies the notion that revolutions differ in various areas depending on their historical, social, political and economic formations. His failure to link his theory of cultural revolution with a particular historical context obscures the fact that conscientisation takes place in a particular historical, socio-cultural context. Consequently, his pedagogy remains very abstract and can be of very little use except as general guidelines in particular situations.

Therefore, any meaningful theory of change must include discussion on the following issues: (1) The distribution of power in the society and the importance of understanding social change. The control of the state apparatus and its use of coersion is crucial in the explanation of the process of change and transformation in the Third World. (2) Any adequate political theory of change must focus on the nexus between particular or mutually opposed class forces within

the domestic political process of dependent countries. Furthermore, it is

> the economic and material bases of society (that) determine its social and political arrangements. That is to say any adequate analysis of society must be grounded in an understanding of the forces and relations of production.[11]

Hence, the bases of a revolution must be seen within the context of historical and economic materialism.

It has been previously argued that to understand Freire himself as an educator and political commentator, an understanding of the historical evolution of the Brazilian Northeast is imperative. It was also pointed out earlier (Chapter 3) that before Freire began his work on an extensive scale, there already existed a particular political situation which was conducive to the introduction of a radical approach to education. This situation had its roots in the 1950's. The point here is that in order to understand the nature of a social formation, the analysis must be grounded within a particular historical framework. Hence, the situation of the oppressed in the Third World "cannot be divorced from its intimate historic referents which form the complex that sustains the unjust order."[12]

It must be borne in mind that every society, historically, has developed differently, and the process and pace of change will depend upon the historical evolution of each. For example, in the case of Angola and Mozambique, political changes occurred after a long and protracted war,

as opposed to the case of Cuba, where political changes occurred in a relatively short time. In the case of Tanzania, changes came about through the electoral process. What is important to remember, however, that despite the pace and method of change, is that in each case there is a significant change in the social relations within the state.

Because Freire did not attempt any concrete societal analysis, from a historical framework, his theory remains at an abstract level. As one author points out,

> Very rarely does Freire try to analyse the tensions in society in terms of material conflicts between social classes. He often gives us very interesting social-psychological analysis of oppressor-oppressed situations, but these tend to remain in abstract unrelatedness to actual historical situations.[13]

Our investigations thus far have led us to conclude that education cannot be considered as a primary vehicle for change. In cases where Freire had tried to use his educational theories for that purpose his efforts have ended in disaster. Brazil and Chile provide two cases in point. In the case of Brazil, after the Coup of April 1964, he was jailed and was finally sent in exile for the next sixteen years. After the Coup in Chile in 1973, Freire was declared a persona non grata.

The point here is that, for education to be effective, in a Freirian sense, certain political changes are first required. Therefore education cannot be seen as an engine for social change, but a necessary and important ingredient in the process for change.

5.4 EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Any discussion and analysis on education in the Third World must include the notion of education for development. Freire seems to have dodged this very important concept. While the education system may be used to develop the individual, there is no specific indication of the ways in which education can be used to help grapple with the basis physical needs of the population.

Most radical critics would have very little difficulty in agreeing with Freire's critique of traditional education. But, like most, he also fails to show in what way education would be used in the development strategy of a liberated nation with the aim of improving the general standard of living of the people. The following disucssions are considered the requisites of a development strategy which Freire ignored.

To reiterate a point already implicitly made, any strategy for social and economic development must be based on a political philosophy. Implicit in this philosophy is an adherence to the notion of egalitarianism and justice. Although this term would mean different things to different societies, they would all share the following categories: (1) The first consideration of a development strategy in the Third World must begin with a reorientation in production. This means that "production is oriented towards satisfying the basic needs of the masses at large."[14] This further "implies a systematic, conscious, deliberate and planned

attack on poverty,"[15] which is one of the most pressing problems of the Third World today. (2) To achieve the above, would necessarily mean the maximum utilisation of labor. Perhaps this would entail the enhancement and creation of labor intensive industries. Provisions will also have to be made "for effective worker involvement and control."[16] (3) Patterns of economic development must largely rest on attempts to develop self-reliance. This concept is based on the need to reduce dependency in which development would take place, based on the objective conditions of the society and the capacity of its people. (4) As an important requirement, development necessarily means that society must be democratised, which means that people must be able to exercise their fundamental democratic rights, for example, freedom of expression and organisation. Democratisation of society, according to Clive Thomas, also means the democratisation of the decision-making structures.[17] In this regard "two requirements for its achievement are an equitable distribution of wealth and income and of equally vital importance, equitable access to the use and management of society's resources."[18] (5) The contribution of the people in the process of development should not be based entirely on academic or technical skills. This would mean that people would develop an awareness of their responsibilities and obligations to the people and society. (6)The new state must coordinate social, economic and political activities.[19] State planning will play an

important role in mobilising the means of production and the maximisation of society's resources. (7) There must be a strong mass-based political organisation, buttressed by a dynamic political leadership. These "leaders are required to be not only political, but also competent in economic management, in educational innovation, cultural development, scientific inventions, and so on."[20]

The development stategy suggested above has important implications for education. It is only when political and economic priorities are outlined that Freire's theory can begin to take shape. Complementing what Freire has said (Chapter 4), Nyrere pointed out that the education system must be based on the following objectives:

1. to shake people out of their resignation and to encourage people to learn more about how they can affect improvements in their lives.

2. to provide people with the skills required to improve their lives.

3. to enable everyone to learn the meaning of self-reliance and socialism.[21]

As has been argued previously, the educational system has performed a number of functions. On one hand it produces docile exploited workers whose work benefits the ruling class and the interests of international capital, and acts to reinforce the hierarchical class structure. On the other hand, it can also act as an agent for social mobility and a tool for

liberation and development.

Our primary concern here is to deal with education as a tool for liberation and development. In conjunction with the overall developmental policies, the education system must be able to produce the necessary skills in which people can be usefully employed in their own communities, particularly in the rural areas. The policies of keeping income differentials low and in making agricultural work financially and morally rewarding are crucial in keeping under control such problems as the drift of school teachers to the cities.

Crucial to the success of the new system, is the possible contribution which education can make in helping to unite the various ethnic groups into one. Perhaps the most important method of attempting to do so would be to bring about racial integration in the schools, beginning at the primary level.

Most important, however, is the task of instilling a sense of values through the subjects of political education and related activities such as work-study projects. A form of this type of education was introduced in Cuba after the revolution. The system was created so as to achieve the goal of linking studies with productive activities. According to Van Rensburg:

> the insertion of production in the activities of schools promotes the student's identification with the producing classes, with

> their aspirations and interests and the realities of their lives, it lays the basis of a better understanding of production relations, production processes and of society as a whole. It links students to the struggles of the producers and it creates respect for work... it counters the division between mental and manual labor.[22]

This program was not limited to secondary schools only, but also existed at the university level. Samuel Bowles noted that in Cuba,

> Students studying economics already spend a considerable amount of time attached to various ministries with economic responsibilities, doing applied research and attempting to improve programs. Sociology students carry out community studies concerning the process of adjustment to life in the new towns. Those in the school of engineering work on irrigation projects or on terracing.[23]

Another radical program initiated by the Cuban government was the 'School of the Countryside' (escuela al campo). This school was to fullfil the pedagogical, social and political aims of the new society and at the same time contribute to production. This idea was further based on the principle of combining work with study, where urban secondary school students would spend up to forty-five days of the year in the rural areas. Here students study and engage in direct agricultural production. Accordingly,

> This type of school combines two factors. First, the ideal education type of a socialist education... an education with the necessities of our own economic development. At the same time, this kind of school is not a drain on the economy but contributes to the economy and to the development of the country. Thus, we can continue to construct this type of school until we have all our students in secondary schools

> of this type. Because of this we consider that for the conditions of our country this the ideal type of school.[24]

The discussion on education and development, thus far, has tried to show that education has a very important role to play in the overall development strategy of Third World societies. Furthermore, because a society's political ideology appeals to all its members, it creates the unity necessary to fight against imperialism and at the same time to promote a strong sense of socio-cultural unity.

The above discussion in no way tries to suggest that this task will be an easy one. On the contrary, it is an enormous one. Any attempt at seeking an independent path of development will have many constraints, both internal and external, of which the society's political leaders must be aware of.

The intention here is not to provide a blueprint for education and development. What is attempted is to provide certain areas of action which should be considered by planners in the process of development. Also, the importance of the programs used will be different, depending on the society's historical and socio-cultural make up.

5.5 A CRITIQUE OF FREIRE'S METHODOLOGY

As a consequence of his neglect of the socio-historical context, the value of Freire's methodology in literacy training is very limited. For example, his method cannot be easily used in languages other than Spanish and Portugese.

> The words of Spanish and Portugese are generative in a sense that is impossible for English words. English words cannot be decomposed into syllables like the words from more phonetically constructed language.[25]

Hence, in non-Portugese and non-Spanish regions, the development of consciousness through language, might have to undergo a severe reorganisation departing from Freire's original method. While it is self evident that consciousness-raising through language and generative themes will have to be done in the peoples' own language, this cannot always be easily accomplished.

In the case of Guinea-Bissau, for example, where Freire had worked in the mid-1970's, the illiteracy rate was in the order of 90%. In this case, where there were some eighty languages and many more dialects, Freire's methodology could hardly be of much use. When the educators attempted to go into the villages to set up their educational programs, they found that it was almost impossible since the people did not speak the same language. Consequently, during this period, Freire's method failed. Therefore, one might suggest that other methods of teaching literacy training will have to be devised.

Perhaps language may not be the only method of consciousness-raising. Art forms, such as music and cultural expressions, may be as important as language - at least in some societies. In Jamaica, for example, individuals such as the late Bob Marley, and Jimmy Cliff, through their music have done much to create a certain level of political

awareness among the masses. Unfortunately, nowhere has Freire considered such alternatives.

A very important deficiency in Freire's educational theory and methodology is his failure to consider the contributions of formal education. Perhaps the reason why he neglected formal education is that, as currently practised, it is very repressive in nature and its role is only to socialise individuals in society in such a way that they accept the status quo and, hence, oppression. In doing this, however, traditional education systems manage to provide people with necessary tools to analyse and question the system. Consequently, even in repressive societies schools can play a quasi-democratic role.

Related to this idea and bearing directly on the question of education for children, Freire avoids the dilemna of trying to create a system of education in which children, because they are new members of society, are taught both the norms and values of society and at the same time are taught to think critically and analytically. Such a system of education is essential even in a revolutionary society. Because he neglects the issue of education for children, the process associated with formal schooling and the dilemnas inherent in this, literacy and conscientisation here has left important areas of education and educational issues untouched.

Any complete theory of education, even in the Third World, cannot ignore the necessary arrangements for the

education of children.[26] Indeed, it is they who are going to be the future leaders of society and it is imperative that they are grounded in the necessary pedagogical, literary and critical skills that will enable them to continue the quest for change.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has not attempted to criticise Freire's educational theories, as such. What it has tried to do is to outline some very important ommissions in Freire's writings. It intermeshes broad political and economic concerns, rather than focusing on his educational theory and methods.

For Freire, education is revolutionary and is part of the process of liberation. This general principle can be supported. But, this chapter has attempted to analyse Freire's political theory and has perhaps suggested that Freire's praxis alone cannot have the liberating potential to which it aspires.

Despite the fact that an attempt has been made to address some criticisms and ommissions of the works of Paulo Freire, his theories cannot be discarded. As a political thinker, he has recognised the nature of oppression and underdevelopment. Important to his philosophy is that he was able to grasp that the present situation in the Third World cannot be understood in isolation from its relationship with the metropolitan powers.

Indeed, Freire's educational theories sought to make people aware of their present state of destitution and the ways in which they can transform that situation. This is not only a desirable phenomenon, but also a necessary one. For Freire this is a political act, blended with an ideological flavour.

Friere's choice in education is clear. His position is that oppression is the result of an unjust social order. And it is incumbent on educators who are concerned with social change to make that choice:

> if we do not make a choice, Freire's contribution to the philosophy of humanism runs the unfortunate risk of seeming to be no more than an erudite summary of the pedagogical methodologies of certain humanist thinkers, with a passionate Brazilian flavour added. Further, not until we make a choice can Freire's contribution be considered anything more than an elegant trans-historic shell in that its message is applicable to the historical resolution of the oppressor-oppressed contradiction through all ages, through all the concretely different historic periods within the generally historical.[27]

Notes

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2. Paul Sweezy, The Theory of Capitalist Development, New York; Monthly Review Press, 1970, p. 248.

3. Ibid, p. 249.

4. Clive Y. Thomas "From Colony to State Capitalism: Alternative Paths to Development in the Caribbean", University of Guyana, June 1981, p. 19.

5. Ibid, pp. 19-20.

6. George Beckford, Persistent Poverty, London; Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 204-205.

7. Jim Walker "The End of Dialogue: Paulo Freire on Politics and Education" in Robert Mackie (ed.) Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, New York; The Continuum Publishing Company, 1981, p. 138.

8. Karl Marx "Preface" to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" in Karl Marx and F. Engels Selected Works, New York; International Publishers, 1968, p. 182.

9. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 82.

10. Clive Y. Thomas, Dependence and Transformation: The Economics of the Transition to Socialism, New York; Monthly Review Press, 1974, p. 306.

11. Robert Mackie "Contributions to the Thought of Paulo Freire" in R. Mackie (ed.) Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, pp. 105-106.

12. Herb Addo "A World Systems Critique of Freire's Philosophy of Education: Naming the World Capitalist Reality"; St. Augustine, Trinidad, Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, 1981, p. 14.

13. Jim Walker in R. Mackie (ed.) Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, p. 144.

14. Thomas (1981), p. 4.

15. Ibid, p. 4.

16. Ibid, p. 4.

17. Ibid, p. 5.

18. Ibid, p. 5.

19. Steve Carthew, "Education for Socialism: A Comparative Study of Educational Strategies and their Political-Economic Contexts in China and Tanzania"; Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, 1978, pp. 44-48.

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23. Samuel Bowles, "Cuban Education and Revolutionary Ideology" in Peter M. E. Figueroa and Ganga Persaud (eds.) Sociology of Education: A Caribbean Reader, Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 79.

24. Fidel Castro cited in Martin Carnoy and Gorge Werthein "Socialist Ideology and the Transformation of Cuban

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25. John Elias, Conscientization and Deschooling: Freire and Illich Proposals for Reshaping Society, Philadelphia; The Westminster Press, 1976, p. 143.

26. Ibid, p. 143.

27. Herb Addo "A World Sytems Critique of Freire's Philosophy of Education: Naming the World Capitalist Reality," p. 13.

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